F.T. VAN STRATEN

HIERA KALA

Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece



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RELIGIONS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

EDITORS

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HIERA KALA

Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece

BY

F. T. VAN STRATEN



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This series Religions in the Graeco-Roman World presents a forum for studies in the social and cultural function of religions in the Greek and the Roman world, dealing with pagan religions both in their own right and in their interaction with and influence on Christianity and Judaism during a lengthy period of fundamental change. Special attention will be given to the religious history of regions and cities which illustrate the practical workings of these processes.
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My thanks are also due to the museums and institutions that provided photographs and granted permission to publish them.

I dedicate this book to may son, to whom its completion owes more than he may be aware of.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION*

Tà hierà kalá, "the holy things are beautiful": in ancient Athens this was the standard formula to acknowledge that the signs observed during the sacrifice of an animal had turned out to be favourable. It is usually translated rather freely as, for instance: "good things have occurred in the sacrifice", or "the omens are auspicious", etc.[1] In such translations, however, we lose something that is implicit in the word *kalá*, which is that the holy rites could be *seen* to be good, and that there was something visually attractive about them.

The fact that this and other aspects of sacrificial ceremonies were interesting and nice to look at, gave them a certain popularity on the stage, either in the form of a tragic production of a mythical sacrifice, or as a comic view of a contemporary sacrifice. Several of the relevant passages will occupy us later on. Furthermore, the visual appeal of animal sacrifice made it a suitable subject for the decoration of various kinds of material. These images of sacrifice will be studied in what follows.

1.1. LIMITATIONS

In more than one respect, this is not a comprehensive treatment of ancient Greek sacrifice. In the first place there is a chronological limitation. I have confined myself to the Archaic and Classical periods, from the seventh century (when the first Archaic depictions of sacrifice occur) to the end of the fourth century B.C. This means on the one hand that Bronze Age iconography of sacrifice is ignored. The Minoan and Mycenaean sacrificial representations are separated from the Archaic-Classical

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* [V- and R-numbers] in square brackets refer to the catalogues of vase paintings and votive reliefs respectively. In the notes books are referred to by author's surname and year of publication; for articles I have added an abbreviated indication of the journal, Festschrift, etc. The abbreviations are those used in the *Archäologische Bibliographie*; a list of some additional abbreviations precedes the bibliography. On the whole, I have tried to be selective in my references to secondary literature, and to lay the emphasis on the primary evidence.

[1] See 5.8. The quotations are from Parker, in: Linders & Nordquist (eds.) 1987, 138, and Ph. Vellacott's translation of Theophrastos, *Characteres* ²(1973) 51.

ones by such a wide chronological gap, that they are best treated as a subject in their own right.[2] At the other end, the Hellenistic period is excluded. Occasionally some Hellenistic material will be presented for comparison, but a full treatment of these later representations and the socio-religious changes in the Greek world that they reflect falls outside the scope of this study.[3]

Secondly, there are the limitations imposed by the nature of the iconographical material. Aspects of sacrifice on which the iconographical evidence has nothing to offer will be excluded. Basically the images show how the Greeks sacrificed, or, a little more accurately, how they liked to see themselves performing the sacrificial rites. They offer useful information on contemporary cult practice. They have nothing to contribute to the hotly debated issue of origins.[4]

An advantage of the archaeological material is, that it can on the whole be dated within reasonable margins. As it covers four successive centuries, one might expect to find evidence of significant developments in sacrificial cult practice in the course of that period. There are, however, certain obstacles. The bulk of the relevant material begins only in the second half of the sixth century, so that the period for which iconographical evidence is fairly abundant comes down to little more than two centuries. Moreover, the different classes of evidence are spread quite unevenly over this period. For the sixth and fifth century we have mostly vase paintings, whereas the fourth century material consists largely of votive reliefs. As we shall see, vase paintings and votive reliefs form two iconographically distinct categories, which makes it unsafe to draw inferences as to developments in cult practice from differences between the earlier vases paintings and the later votive reliefs.[5] Even within one cate-

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[2] Sacrifice in the Bronze Age Aegean: Nilsson 1950, 194-235 and 426-446; Matz, *AbhMainz* 1958, nr. 7; Nilsson 1967, 275-278 and 326-329; Sakellarakis, *PZ* 45 (1970) 135-219; Long 1974; Marinatos, in: Hägg *et al.* (eds.) 1988, 9-20; Bergquist, *ibid.* 21-34; Bergquist, in: Quaegebeur (ed.) 1993, 11-43.

[3] Some observations in Van Straten, in: Bulloch *et al.* (eds.), 1993, 248-264.

[4] Some highlights of this continuing debate: Meuli, in: *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühl* (1945) 185-288; Burkert 1972; Burkert, in: G. Stephenson (ed.), 1976, 168-187; Dumbrowski's criticisms *Numen* 23 (1976) 136-14, and Burkert's reply Numen 25 (1977) 77-79; *Le sacrifice dans l'Antiquité* (*Entretiens Hardt* 27, 1981); Hamerton-Kelly (ed.), *Violent origins. Walter Burkert, René Girard and Jonathan Z. Smith on Ritual Killing and Cultural Formation* (1987); Burkert 1990. For a broader perspective see also Van Baal, *Numen* 23 (1976) 161-178; Van Baaren 1976.

[5] See 5.7. and 5.8.

gory, the limited period of currency of a certain motif may have more to do with a short-lived fashion in vase painting than with changes in the underlying rituals.[6] So if we find hardly any reliable evidence of significant changes in sacrificial practice within our period, this may at least partly be due to the deficiencies of the material. We should, however, also consider that cult practice in general has a tendency to be rather conservative, and that its basic components are seldom liable to abrupt changes.

If on the subject of chronological development our material has less to offer than we might perhaps have hoped for, we fare little better with regional differentiation. Literary texts and inscriptions with cult regulations attest an immensely rich variety in sacrificial rituals, not only from one region to another, but even within one area from sanctuary to sanctuary and from occasion to occasion. By contrast, the iconographical material is relatively monotonous. Not so much because one region, the area of the Athenian polis, is greatly over-represented (though there is that too), but mainly because most depictions of sacrifice concentrate on the more constant elements of the ritual.

There are yet other aspects of Greek sacrifice on which the images shed little light. In the Greek context the word sacrifice (and its equivalent in other languages) embraces a multiplicity of phenomena that rather defy classification.[7] For practical purposes a primary division in two main classes is useful; (1) sacrifices where only some parts of the animal were burnt for the gods, and a large portion was eaten by the human sacrificers; (2) sacrifices of which nothing was eaten, the *thysíai ágeustoi* ("sacrifices not tasted"). The second class is in fact quite a hotchpotch: a number of very different types of sacrifice share this characteristic of not being eaten. We shall see that the vast majority of our images, in so far as it is possible to make the distinction, depict sacrifices of the first class. The mixed group of *thysíai ágeustoi* is represented by only a handful of pictures. Why are they so rare? The fact that some do exist precludes the assumption that such depictions were subject to some sort of taboo.[8] Nor can the scarcity of representations be attributed to an infrequent occur-

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[6] This is evidently the case with the kanoûn-and-chérnips scenes, see 2.1.2.

[7] Nilsson 1967, 132-157; "Denn unter dem einen Wort (Opfer) verbergen sich Riten sehr mannigfaltigen Ursprungs und Sinnes"; also 104-110; Burkert, in: *Le Sacrifice dans l'Antiquité* (1981) 91-125.

[8] See 3.2. and 4.4.3.

rence of these rites in real life. Let us look, by way of illustration, at one specific type of *thysía ágeustos*: the purificatory sacrifice.[9]

Any Athenian citizen would frequently be in a position to witness a purificatory sacrifice. Before every meeting of the council and the assembly, a young pig was killed and carried round the circumference of the meeting-place. Some sanctuaries were in a similar way purified by pig's blood at regular intervals, as were armies. The ritual purification from homicide was probably not so often seen in real life, but every Greek would be familiar with the story of Orestes' purification in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, again by pig's blood.[10] And yet we do not have a single representation of a contemporary, real purification sacrifice of a pig.[11] Only mythical purifications are occasionally depicted on South Italian vases of the fourth century B.C. Three Apulian kraters [V411: Paris Louvre K 710; V412: Art market; V412^{bis}: Private collection], and one Paestan squat lekythos [V413: Paestum 4794], show Apollo holding a piglet over Orestes, who is seated, sword in hand, on an altar.[12] There is another mythical purification, possibly of the daughters of Proitos by Melampous, on a rather formidable Sicilian krater, about 350/325 B.C. [Fig. 1, V427: Syracuse 47038]. A group of women, some of them showing distinct signs of madness, have gathered in a sanctuary. One of them, collapsing on her knees, is supported by one young man while another young man holds a small pig over her head, cutting its throat with a knife.[13]

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[9] On what follows see Parker 1983, 21 ff. with references.

[10] Aischylos, *Eumenides* 281-283. Parker 1983, 228 and 370-374.

[11] The woman holding a small animal, a dog rather than a pig, and the three torches set in the ground, on an Attic red figure lekythos [V63: Athens NM 1695], might possibly have to do with the purificatory rites for Hekate at the crossroads on the sixteenth of every month: Van Straten, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 182; for the rites see Borgeaud 1979, 230-231, and Parker 1983, 30-31.

[12] See Dyer, *JHS* 89 (1969) 38-56; Trendall & Webster 1971, 49, III.1,12; cf. Brown, *JHS* 102 (1982) 30-32; Neitzel, *WürzbJbAltWiss* N.F. 17 (1991) 69-89. Rudhardt 1958, 166; Parker 1983, 139 and 386-388.

[13] The interpretation of the scene as the purification of the Proitidai, by Libertini, *BdA* 35 (1950) 97-107, is attractive (though by no means certain) and has been widely accepted: e.g. Trendall, *LCS* 602/102; Burkert 1972, 193; Schefold & Jung 1981, 171; Kossatz-Deissmann, Hera, *LIMC* IV (1988) 717 nr. 490; Simon, Melampous, *LIMC* VI (1992) 407 nr. 5. For the identification of one of the two cult statues in the picture as Hera holding a pair of scissors, see Shefton *apud* Simon, *AntK* 25 (1982) 37 note 14. Langlotz 1963, 24-25, interprets the scene as the initiation of a girl in a mystery cult,

The question remains: why is such a common ritual so rarely, if ever, depicted. Its absence on votive reliefs, which were mainly concerned with sacrifices as gifts, is understandable.[14] With regard to vase paintings it could be argued that the ritual of purificatory sacrifice, and indeed any type of *thysía ágeustos*, gave vase painters less scope for a variety of interesting scenes than the class of sacrifices part of which was eaten. Nevertheless it is hard to see how yet another addition to the endless series of Herakles wrestling the lion[15] would be so much more attractive than the occasional purificatory piglet. There is always the possibility, of course, that such vase paintings were made in small numbers, and that by pure coincidence none of these have so far been found. The numerous Greek painted pots that we have are, after all, only a minute fraction of what was produced.[16]

1.2. Approach

Taking the iconographical repertoire as a guideline, we have had to take leave of quite a few interesting aspects of Greek sacrifice, but a good deal is left. How are we to read these representations of sacrifice? I opt for a straightforward (some might call it simple-minded) approach which could be summarized, with a variation on a much abused piece of computer jargon, as "What You See Is What It Is". If we see a picture of a sheep, I take it as a reference to a sheep, not as a recondite clue to some hidden deeper truth. This is not a statement of faith that such clues could never exist, but if they exist, I leave them to others.

Unfortunately, even simple things have a tendency to become complicated. It is obvious that the "You", in "What You See Is What It Is", does not refer to us, but to the ancient Greeks who produced, bought and enjoyed the pictures we are dealing with. To understand what something is, we would have to look at it with ancient Greek eyes. In other words, we would have to acquire all the general background knowledge, the whole frame of reference, that the vase painter or relief sculptor took for granted in his contemporary spectators. To think that we can really do

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but that is unlikely; the iconography is too close to that of Orestes' purification.

[14] See 5.8.

[15] On the popularity of this theme see Brommer 1974, 7.

[16] Cook, *JdI* 74 (1959) 114-123, calculates a survival rate of less than a half percent.

that would be poor judgement, but we must leave no stone unturned in trying to come as close as possible.[17]

The two largest and most interesting classes of sacrificial representations are vase paintings and votive reliefs. In both groups very few representations are unique. Most iconographical components can be incorporated in a series of pictures that are similar, but never identical: details of context may vary. Taking the whole series into account, we get more information on that iconographical component than we would from one instance. Consequently, any interpretation proposed for it is only acceptable if it fits the whole series. In the course of this study it will become clear that votive reliefs and vase paintings, although they do have certain elements in common, are iconographically distinct categories. So when we use a depiction as a source of information on sacrificial ritual, we must always take into account the particular artisans' tradition to which it belongs. This is equally true for different regional traditions of vase painting, for instance Corinthian versus Attic.

Trying to look at our images with ancient Greek eyes also implies differentiating between functions of objects decorated with these representations. A Greek drinking at a symposion would look at the picture on the bottom of his cup with other eyes than he would at a votive relief when visiting a sanctuary. We shall find that this, too, had its effect on their respective iconography.[18]

For a tentative reconstruction of the ancient Greek frame of reference we are not confined to a comparative analysis of the images themselves. Fortunately there is quite a substantial amount of Greek textual material on sacrifice. We have inscriptions with cult regulations, sacrificial calendars, accounts of the financial aspects of cult, etc., as well as literary texts of various genres. It goes without saying that in using these texts as evidence on sacrificial ritual, we must be constantly aware of the nature of the text and the context of the passage. The relevant inscriptions we may on the whole assume to be factual. But here again we are confronted with the problem that on some aspects of ritual, for instance which parts of the sacrificial animals would fall to the priests, there is abundant and very detailed information, whereas we find little or nothing on the god's portion. Apparently, that was common knowledge. Similarly, historians

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[17] For a practical illustration of the following remarks, see e.g. 2.1.2. on kanoûn and chérnips, and 4.2. on osphûs and splánchna.

[18] See 5.7. and 5.8.

will often leave out information that would have been most welcome to us, because it would be familiar to the contemporary readers they had in mind.[19] The use of imaginative literature, such as tragedy and comedy, as evidence for cults and beliefs, poses particular problems.[20] Tragedies usually derive their subject from traditional myth and epic, and are set in an imaginary remote past. When a poet wanted to introduce detailed descriptions of ritual he would probably most often draw these from his own experience of contemporary ritual, and in that case they are valid evidence. If, however, these details were an inherent part of the traditional story (which we do not always know), or if, on the other hand, they have an obvious function in the mechanics of the plot, then we may only use them with great caution. Most comedies are set in contemporary society. They contain much that is relevant to cult and ritual, and it is tempting to take these passages at face value, but it is only fair to remember that a comic poet's intention was to entertain his audience, not to inform us about the religion of his contemporaries. Consequently, it is up to us to find out which parts of a certain passage are comic distortion and which are a faithful reflection of real ritual. Since later on we will frequently have recourse to comic texts, it may be useful, at the outset, to give an example of how this works.

Whoever wanted to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, had to bring a sucking pig, the so called mystic piglet (*choîros mystikós*).[21] Eleusinian votive reliefs and statuettes, and Eleusinian scenes on vases, show initiates, characterized by the bundle of twigs (*bákchos*), carrying a piglet by one hind leg. On the second day of the mysteries, all initiates went to the sea to cleanse themselves with seawater, and they brought their piglets along to wash them as well.[22] The question arises, what happened next with the piglets. The texts are not explicit on this point. Scholars have argued that they served as purificatory sacrifices,[23] or that they were

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[19] See the insightful chapter "What Thucydides takes for granted", in Gomme's commentary on Thucydides I (1959) 1-25.

[20] Cf. Mikalson 1991, on popular religion in Greek tragedy; Bowie 1993, on myth, ritual and comedy in Aristophanes; also Ehrenberg's classic on the people of Aristophanes ^{3}(1962). Parker 1983, 13-16, has some characteristically judicious remarks on the status of tragedy and comedy as evidence for cults and beliefs.

[21] Nilsson 1967, 105 note 1. Aristophanes, *Pax* (421 B.C.), 374-5 and scholion.

[22] Ploutarchos, *Phocion* 28, 6.

[23] Foucart 1914, 294; Mylonas 1961, 249-250.

thrown into pits in the Eleusinian sanctuary and left to rot.[24] In both cases they would belong to the class of *thysíai ágeustoi*. Others believe that they belong to the other class of sacrifice, and that these piglets were in fact (partly) roasted and eaten by the initiates. This latter opinion is based on a passage from Aristophanes' comedy the *Frogs*.[25] When the chorus of initiates enters the orchestra, the slave Xanthias exclaims, invoking Demeter's daughter: "What a wonderful smell of pork!" Is this evidence for the roasting of the mystic piglets, or is it just a fantastic expression of the preoccupation with food of the stereotypical comic slave? There is another passage, from Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, which, I think, is relevant here.[26] The play was produced in 425 B.C., in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. Not only the Athenians themselves, but also their western neighbour Megara, had suffered terrible hardships. In the scene in question a Megarian has come to Athens to try and sell his young daughters, whom he has thinly disguised with pig's trotters. He recommends them to the Athenian farmer Dikaiopolis as excellent mystic piglets. Dikaiopolis inspects one thoroughly, and then concludes that she is not fit for sacrifice, because she has no tail. It should be noted that in Greek the word for piglet, when used in connection with young girls, has the same connotation as "pussy" in English, and that the Greek word for tail was also used as slang for penis.[27] That in itself would probably be enough to elicit a snigger from at least part of the audience. But there is more. A Greek would immediately understand the word tail, if mentioned in connection with a sacrificial animal, as the most conspicuous part of the god's portion in the sort of sacrifice where much of the meat was eaten by the sacrificers.[28]

Now the question is: are we to assume that the comic sense of Aristophanes, and of his audience (and the judges who awarded both the *Acharnians* and the *Frogs* first prize), would be satisfied with a slave's stereotypical remark about food, and some gratuitous genital jokes? It is much more likely that both scenes have a point of reference in the real sacrifice

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[24] Clinton, in: R. Hägg *et al.* (eds.) 1988, 69-80.

[25] Aristophanes, *Ranae* (405 B.C.), 337-338; see e.g. Nilsson 1967, 105 note 1; Burkert 1972, 284; Parker 1983, 283.

[26] Aristophanes, *Acharnenses* (425 B.C.), 738-796.

[27] See Henderson 1991, 131 nr. 110 and 128 nr. 92.

[28] See 4.2.

of the mystic piglets (a sacrifice of the edible kind); in that manner, there is a little more subtlety and depth to the humour.

Meanwhile it has become clear that, if we are to use comic scenes, or other literary passages, as evidence for sacrificial ritual, again we have to reconstruct the frame of reference of the ancient audience in order to arrive at a maximal interpretation. To that effect, archaeology quite often offers useful information, especially for a better understanding of comedy.[29] More in general, we need a constant feedback between the different categories of evidence (archaeological, epigraphical, literary) to get the maximum of information from them. That is the approach I have adopted. Admittedly an argument based on such mutual feedback carries a certain risk of circularity, but so does riding a bicycle. As long as one is aware of the mechanics involved it need not be fatal.

1.3. Organization

The argument in the following chapters follows the chronological order of the successive stages in the sacrificial ritual, as it may be inferred from the representations. The main division is in three phases: (a) Pre-kill, comprising sacrificial images where the animal is still alive and whole. (b) The killing. (c) Post-kill, including all that was done with the animal's carcass and its various parts. A closer analysis of the material covering the first and third phases will reveal a natural sub-division into sub-groups. With the help of some key pieces which show a juxtaposition or conflation of two or more of such sub-groups, these can be understood as successive sub-phases in the progression of the ritual.

It might be thought that at least the three main phases would be embarrassingly obvious, as indeed they are in the iconographical material. On the basis of the literary material, however, Rudhardt distinguished three "actes fondamentaux de l'opération sacrificielle", namely: "(1) la mise à mort d' un être vivant; (2) l'extraction du corps de la victime de quelques parties considérées comme essentielles; (3) l'utilisation de ces morceaux privilégiés."[30] In this arrangement the whole of the pre-kill phase, which happens to include by far the majority of representations, is ignored. Burkert, in part harking back to Hubert and Mauss, presents a tripartite

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[29] See e.g. Hauser, *ÖJh* 12 (1909) 80-100; Sparkes, *JHS* 95 (1975) 122-135.

[30] Rudhardt 1958, 290.

structure which largely corresponds with our division in the pre-kill, kill, and post-kill phases.[31] It will be argued, though, that the relative importance that Burkert attaches to each of the three phases is not supported by the iconographical evidence.[32]

Finally, there is the matter of the criteria that will be applied to establish which representations are to be included as depictions of animal sacrifice and which do not belong. In the post-kill images, all that is visible of the sacrificed animal may be small parts that by themselves are not immediately recognizable to us. But as was noted earlier, there are firm iconographical links between these pictures and those of the earlier phases, where the animal is still complete. Which brings us to the question, by what criteria an animal (a complete one, that is) can be distinguished as a sacrificial animal.

It is best to start from the most comprehensive and detailed depictions of sacrificial processions. Several characteristics may identify the scene as a sacrificial one: the sanctuary to which the cortège is under way is indicated by an altar or some abbreviated form of architecture; often the god himself, the recipient of the sacrifice, is present; fillets or streamers adorn the animal; and at the head of the procession walks a characteristic figure, a woman carrying a basket on her head.

This female basket-bearer deserves a little more attention. The basket has a distinctive shape. It has a flat round bottom and a vertical rim projecting into three vertical handles (or rather "handles": they may be either solid or open, but they are never seen to be used as handles). Within the confines of these basic characteristics there is a considerable variation in shape, height and material (in principle it is a wickerwork basket, but important sanctuaries would often have very elaborate ones in precious metal). The three "handles" are essential; when occasionally a flat tray is used in the same context as this basket, three twigs are set on

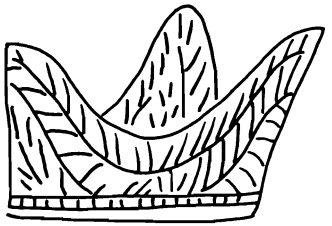
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[31] Burkert 1972, 19-20: "Die allgemeine Struktur des Opferrituals ist von Hubert und Mauss zutreffend mit den Begriffen 'Sakralisation' und 'Desakralisation' umschrieben worden: Vorbereitungsriten einerseits, Abschlussriten andererseits umrahmen ein Zentrum, markiert auch als emotioneller Höhepunkt durch den schrillen Schrei, die *Ololygé:* diese 'Tat' aber ist der Akt des Tötens, das Ereignis des Sterbens. Ein dreigeteilter Rhythmus ergibt sich somit im Vollzug des Opfers, der von einem labyrinthisch gehemmten Anfang über eine erschreckende Mitte zum sorgfältig-klaren Abschluss führt."

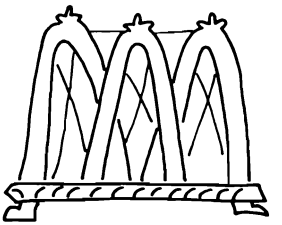
[32] See 5.8.

the rim. The "three-handled" basket has been firmly identified long ago as the *kanoûn* or sacrificial basket, and the female figure who leads the procession carrying the kanoûn on her head is the *kanephóros*.[33]

KANOUN TYPES



[V136: The Hague 5-71]



[V78: Ferrara T 57 c VP]



[V74: Boston 13.195]



[R73: Brauron 1151]

To act as a kanephóros for the procession at a public festival was considered one of the greatest honours an Athenian girl could achieve. In a law concerning the Lesser Panathenaia she is mentioned among the officials who take precedence at the distribution of the sacrificial meat.[34] Some of the silver kanâ that are listed in inventories of Athenian sanctuaries weighed, on average, more than half a talent (13-14 kg).[35] If these were carried in processions, the kanephóroi must have been strong, not very young girls, and in fact in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* the kanephoría is mentioned last in a series of important religious functions that girls could perform.[36] In private sacrifice one would not normally have a procession

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[33] Deubner, *JdI* 40 (1925) 210 ff.; Schelp 1975. On its various uses see 2.1.2. and 5.2. — On processions in Greek cult: Pfuhl 1900; Nilsson, *JdI* 31 (1916) 309 ff.; Eitrem 1919, Kap. IV; Bömer, Pompa, *RE* XXI 2 (1952) 1878-1974; Lehnstaedt 1970; Connor, *JHS* 107 (1987) 40-50.

[34] *LS* 33, 10-15 (between 335/4 and 330/29 B.C.).

[35] Aleshire 1989, 48 note 3.

[36] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* (411 B.C.), 638-647. See also *Acharnenses* 241-262 and scholion on 242; *Aves* (414 B.C.), 1550-1551 and scholion on 1551; *Ecclesiazusae* (393 B.C.), 730-745; Menander, *Epitrepontes* 438-441. Brulé 1987, 287-324.

with a kanephóros, but the kanoûn was indispensable there too. In this context it is usually handled by a male attendant.

All in all, the comprehensive, detailed pictures are easily recognized as sacrificial scenes. Vase painters, however, are often selective, leaving out one or more components that we might think rather essential. Still, as long as any of the indications pointing to sacrificial ritual is present, the picture will be included. If, on the other hand, we have just an ox accompanied by a man in a felt cap and with a sack over his shoulder,[37] we should rather take that as a scene from country life without any religious implications, and it will be excluded.

Depictions of mythical sacrifices are included. It seems likely that vase painters who chose a mythical sacrifice as subject would usually fill in the details from their contemporary experience, but some details may have been an inherent part of the traditional story, and for us it is often impossible to distinguish between the two. To be on the safe side, I will ignore the mythical scenes in all quantitative analyses.

[37] E.g. Att. rf. amphora on the Art market: MuM Basel 26 (1963) nr. 135; cf. Palermo Coll. Collisani N 50: Isler & Sguaitamatti (eds.) 1990, 119 nr. 173, pl. 25.

CHAPTER TWO

PRE-KILL

This group comprises all sacrificial representations where the sacrificial animal is still alive and whole, and the act of killing has not yet been initiated.

2.1. VASE PAINTINGS

The vase paintings representing the first main phase of the sacrificial ritual, before the killing of the animal, range from very comprehensive ones, rich in figures and explicit details, to quite meagre pictures which are little more than a cutout from the more complete scenes, showing, for instance, just the victim and its handler.

Obviously the more comprehensive pictures form the best starting point for our considerations. These, on closer scrutiny, allow a subdivision of the pre-kill phase into two sub-phases: (a) the sacrificial procession approaches the sanctuary; (b) preliminary rituals are performed at the altar.

2.1.1. *The sacrificial procession approaches the sanctuary*

The term sacrificial procession is here used in a very broad sense for any group of people accompanying the victim. These "processions" again may be divided into two subcategories, according to the presence or absence of a female figure carrying the sacrificial basket (kanoûn) on her head. As we saw above, such a kanephóros was a regular feature of religious processions in the proper sense of the word, which were held on the occasion of various public festivals. It is therefore reasonable to assume that pictures of the first subcategory, where the cortège is headed by a kanephóros, refer to some public festival.

In the second subcategory, where a male figure, who may at the same time lead the victim, holds the kanoûn in his hand, we have sacrificial ceremonies on a more modest scale, perhaps of a private nature.

Vase painters were not usually exhaustive in their depiction of the various elements that constituted a sacrificial procession. Depending,

among other things, on the space available on the pot, they would skip one or more components. If no kanoûn-bearer of any kind is included in the picture, it may sometimes still be possible to assign it, with a reasonable degree of cogency, to one of the two subcategories, on the grounds of the presence or absence of a band of musicians, or the number of participants.

Festive procession, mostly headed by kanephóros

ATTIC

Athena

In Attic vase painting, one of the earliest processions of this type is to be found on a black figure band cup of the middle of the sixth century B.C., which turned up on the art market in 1958 [Fig. 2, V55: Private collection].[1] The frieze of a band cup is particularly suited to accommodate a large number of figures and its possibilities are here exploited to the full. On the far left we have the recipient of the sacrifice, Athena represented as Promachos.[2] In front of the goddess there is an altar on which the firewood and flames are clearly indicated. A woman standing on the left of the altar clasps hands with a man coming from the right. The man wears a himation with a decorated border, and carries a couple of twigs over his left shoulder. He is followed by the kanephóros. The kanoûn is quite large, and its basketry fabric is indicated by crosshatching. Then come three sacrificial animals, an ox, a pig and a sheep, led by five male figures holding twigs; the man on the near side of the ox holds a rope which is attached to the horns of the animal. The five animal handlers are distinguished from the other participants by their scant clothing: just short chitons, as far as we can tell. They are followed by three musicians, two playing the double pipes, one the kithara.[3] The rest of the procession is

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[1] There is an earlier sacrificial procession on a Siana cup of c. 570/565 B.C. [V45: Taranto I.G. 4346]. It lacks the kanephóros; a man in chiton and himation, holding a horn, stands on the left of an altar with fire. From the right a man in a short chiton leads a bull towards the altar. He is followed by six men in chiton and himation. Seven more similar men and two youths are depicted on the reverse. Above the altar a bird flies to the left.

[2] Promachos: Niemeyer 1960.

[3] On music in cult scenes see Nordquist, in: Hägg (ed.) 1992, 143-168; also Haldane, *GaR* 13 (1966) 98 ff.

made up of some men in chiton and himation carrying twigs, and three hoplites and a horseman as representatives of the infantry and cavalry. The position of the woman between the goddess and the altar suggests that she is the priestess, welcoming the procession on behalf of Athena. The man in the bordered chiton, on account of his prominent position, may be taken as a priest or an official in charge of the procession.

Several elements of this picture recur about half a century later on a black figure lekythos found on the Athenian Akropolis [Fig. 3, V19: Athens NM Akr 2298]. Here Athena Promachos stands on the right, and a man (a priest?) holding branches, is turned towards the goddess. They are both inside the temple, which is indicated by a column with a fillet tied round it, and part of the entablature. On the left of the column, i.e. outside the temple, there is an altar with a blazing fire. From the left the procession approaches, consisting of the female kanephóros and a man holding twigs, walking side by side, a man leading the bovine victim which is adorned with stémmata hanging over its horns, and a pipe-player.

Athena Promachos is again the recipient on a black figure amphora from about 550/540 B.C. [Fig. 4, V21: Berlin F 1686]. A woman holding twigs in both hands stands on the other side of an altar, facing the goddess. Behind her are three men accompanying an ox, one of them restraining the animal by a rope tied to its foreleg. The four musicians on the reverse (two pipe-players and two kithara-players) probably belong. There is no kanephóros, but the considerable group of musicians suggests that we have here a selective, abbreviated representation of a substantial procession.

Which Athenian festival or festivals in honour of Athena do these pictures refer to? Do we have sufficient information to pin them down? All these pictures, and especially the impressive procession on the band cup, have been connected with Athena's major festival, the Panathenaia.[4] Not convincingly, I think. The Athena Promachos type does not help. It should only be taken as a convenient way to identify the recipient goddess, not as a faithful copy of the relevant cult image. Since the sixties of the sixth century B.C. this Athena type was the standard decoration of the obverse of Panathenaic amphorae. There the implicit reference is to Athena Polias, in whose honour the Panathenaia were celebrated, though we know that

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[4] Lehnstaedt 1970, 82 ff.; Neumann 1979, 27; cf. the reservations of Shapiro, in: Neils 1992, 54 f.. On the Panathenaia in general, see Deubner 1932, 22-35; Ziehen, Panathenaia, *RE* XVIII (1949) 457-493; Robertson, *RhM* 128 (1985) 231-295; Robertson 1993, 90-119.

the cult image of Athena Polias looked entirely different.[5] The same Promachos type, however, also occurs elsewhere, even, as we shall see, outside Attika, in a Boiotian context. So it may, but need not, stand for the Athenian Polias, and is therefore not in itself sufficient to connect the vase paintings in question with the Panathenaia.

A serious objection to an interpretation in this sense is, that the peplos, which was the focal point of the Panathenaic procession, at least of the Greater Panathenaia, is nowhere indicated in the vase paintings studied so far.[6] The most elaborate picture, on the band cup, has infantry and cavalry participating in the procession, as they did at the Panathenaia, but on other occasions as well.[7] The men carrying twigs might be interpreted as the *thallophóroi* of the Panathenaic procession: old men, selected in a sort of beauty contest, who carried young olive-shoots.[8] In archaic vase painting, however, the majority of figures in sacrificial processions for any deity carry twigs.

Finally, there is the rather striking sacrifice of three animals, bovine, pig and sheep. In Greek such a sacrifice could be called a *tríttoia bóarchos* ("threesome led by an ox").[9] As far as we know, this was not the typical sacrifice of the Panathenaia. A lex sacra concerning the Lesser Panathenaia, dated between 335/4 and 330/29 B.C., distinguishes two sacrifices to Athena: one "to be sacrificed in the Old Temple (if we accept this plausible restoration of the text), in the traditional way", the other one to be sacrificed on the Great Altar of Athena.[10] The latter sacrifice consisted entirely of cows, on this particular occasion to the value of 41 mnaî

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[5] Alroth 1989, 48-54. See also Demargne *et al.*, Athena, *LIMC* II (1984) 955-1044, esp. 969-974: "Athéna Promachos"; Neils 1992, 29-51.

[6] See i.a. Harpokration s.v. Παναθήναια and ἀρρηφορεῖν; Euripides, *Hecuba* 466-9 with scholion on 467; Hesychios s.v. ἐργαστῖναι; Scholion Aristophanes, *Equites* 566; Ploutarchos, *Demetrius* 12. Beside the Parthenon frieze, there is one other possible representation of Athena's peplos, on an Attic black figure amphora of Panathenaic shape (no sacrifice): New York MMA 1953.11.1, *ABV* 298/5: Princeton Ptr (550/540 B.C.); *CVA* 4, pl. 13; Böhr 1982, 18, 27, 110, pl. 169; Neils 1992, 25 fig. 14.

[7] Thoukydides VI 58; Xenophon, *Hipparchicus* III 2.

[8] *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. θαλλοφόρος; Xenophon, *Symposium* IV 17.

[9] See Stengel 1920, 119; *LS* 4, 5; 5, 37; 16, 6-12.

[10] *IG* II² 334 + *SEG* 18 (1962) 13; *LS* 33. See *SEG* 35 (1985) 68 and 37 (1987) 79. The 41 mnaî derive from the rent of the *Nea*, which has been variously interpreted as fallow land (Lewis, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, 239-247), territory at Oropos, newly acquired by Athens (Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12, 1960, 189-203), or the elusive island Nea(i) between Lemnos and the Hellespont (Langdon, *Hesperia* 56, 1987, 47-58).

(which would buy approximately fifty cows). The traditional sacrifice in the Old Temple (i.e., at that time, the "Erechtheion") probably consisted of cows and an equal number of sheep.[11] A little more than a century earlier, on the Parthenon frieze, we have a similar dichotomy. On the north frieze, facing the Old Temple of Athena Polias, four cows and four sheep are led to sacrifice, whereas on the corresponding portion of the south frieze we have only cows (at least nine, i.e. many).[12] Still earlier by a good half century we probably have a picture of the traditional sacrifice of cow and sheep on a black figure hydria in Uppsala [Fig. 5, V50: Uppsala 352]. The presence of Athena is there indicated by a huge owl perching on the altar.

On the whole, then, there is no good reason to connect the picture on the band cup with the Panathenaia. It may well be one of the other Athena festivals of the Athenian polis, or (a possibility we should not overlook) of one of the Attic demes. For individual demes and local associations in Attika had their own celebrations in honour of the goddess, and we know of at least two such occasions where the sacrifice consisted of cow, sheep and pig.[13]

There is another *tríttoia bóarchos* on a fragmentary black figure dinos of about the same date as the band cup [Fig. 6, V13: Athens NM Akr 607]. Unfortunately the picture is very incomplete, and the deity is not preserved, but the fragments were found on the Athenian Akropolis, so the recipient of this sacrifice may well have been Athena (assuming that the pot was a votive offering in the sanctuary of this goddess, and that an appropriate picture was chosen, or even specially made, for that purpose). One of the surviving fragments of this dinos has an interesting figure walking beside the sacrificial pig. He is a bearded man in a loin cloth,

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[11] Philochoros quoted by Harpokration s.v. ἐπίβοιον.

[12] Pace Boardman 1985, 108 and Idem, *Fests. Brommer* (1977) 39-50, who denies that the north and south frieze refer to two different sacrifices; see, however, Deubner 1932, 25, and Ziehen, Panathenaia, *RE* XVIII (1949) 470-474. According to Kardara, *AEphem* 1961, 141, all sacrificial animals on both the north and the south frieze are male. But on the south frieze at least one cow shows an udder; the sex of the other animals is not so clear, but circumstantial evidence is in favour of female victims: see Ziehen, *l.c.*, and Brommer 1977, 215.

[13] *LS* 16: deme Oinoe; on the nature of this fragmentary inscription see Dow, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, 67. Cf. *LS* 20 B 35: Marathonian Tetrapolis, sacrifice of a cow, three sheep and a piglet to Athena Hellotis. If the Oinoe mentioned in the first inscription was the deme in the phyle Aiantis (and not the one in the phyle Hippothontis), it was part of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, see Whitehead 1986, 185 and 392.

holding the usual twigs, and carrying a case containing two different knives hanging from a shoulder belt. A similar figure, carrying a case with three knives, takes part in a sacrificial procession on a fragmentary black figure skyphos, probably also from the Akropolis, but found on its north slope [Fig. 7, V6: Athens Agora A-P 2197 etc.]. They would seem to be specialist butchers (*mágeiroi* or *ártamoi*) with the tools of their trade.[14]

Finally, a procession in honour of Athena on a black figure oinochoe of the early fifth century B.C. shows the goddess seated in her temple (indicated by two columns) [Fig. 8, V31: London 1905.7-11.1].[15] Athena wears helmet and aigis, and holds a phiale over the altar. The modest procession consists of a kanephóros, a man carrying a hydria (or outsize oinochoe?), and a man leading a bull. On the left the picture is framed by a third column.

If we survey the sacrificial processions for Athena, we must conclude that they all lack sufficiently specific elements for us to identify the particular festival intended. In fact, this may not just be due to our incomplete knowledge. I doubt whether any of these pictures would have been specific enough for a contemporary Athenian to recognize it as a representation of a particular festival. They may be generalized impressions of any major festive sacrifice.

Dionysos

On three late black figure skyphoi, all attributed to the Theseus Painter, Dionysiac processions are depicted which have one feature in common: a ship mounted on wheels, in which Dionysos is seated between satyrs playing double pipes. On the most complete example [Fig. 9, V24: Bologna 130] the ship-chariot, drawn by two satyrs, is followed by a young man, and preceded by a kanephóros, a youth carrying a thurible, two male figures holding twigs, and two male figures leading the sacrificial bull. The second skyphos [Fig. 10, V28: London B 79] lacks several of these elements (including the kanephóros), but adds a pipe-player. Of

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[14] Berthiaume 1982, *passim*.

[15] There is another seated Athena on a black figure hydria of the late sixth century B.C. [V53: Art market]. Strangely in this picture the sacrificial animal, a cow or bull, and the blazing altar appear to be inside the temple (indicated by a column and entablature), whereas Athena, accompanied by a large snake, is seated outside. A somewhat similar disposition is found on a pelike in Himera [V27: Himera].

the third skyphos only a fragment with the ship-chariot survives.[16] A contemporary Athenian probably had little difficulty in identifying the festival intended here. For us it is not so easy. Among all the literary and epigraphical information we have with regard to the Dionysiac festivals of Athens, a ship-chariot is never mentioned.[17] However, almost a century ago, Nilsson was able to make a plausible case for the Anthesteria, based on the fact that in Smyrna a ship-chariot was a feature of the Anthesteria procession.[18] Most scholars have followed this attribution,[19] but there have been some dissidents who prefer the City Dionysia.[20]

It is interesting that in all three pictures the god himself and his followers, the satyrs, appear to take part in the procession. It may be that they are in fact human beings dressed up as Dionysos and satyrs, but it is equally possible that the vase painter has taken the liberty of visualizing the invisible divine presence.[21]

Two other black figure vase paintings probably depict sacrificial processions in honour of Dionysos. On the first one, an amphora of about the middle of the sixth century B.C. [Fig. 11, V22: Berlin F 1690], we have a kanephóros carrying a twig. The kanoûn she carries on her head is decorated with sprigs and fillets. She is followed by a man carrying a piglet, two men carrying twigs, and a man carrying a twig, an oinochoe, a wineskin, and a basket on a pole over his shoulder. The wineskin, and the ivy crowned revellers on the reverse of this vase, suggest a Dionysiac context, without indicating any particular festival.

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[16] Athens NM Akr 1281: *ABL* 250/29; also Tübingen 1497: Watzinger 1924, D 53, Pl. 15; *CVA* 3, pl. 6, 4. Cf. Gasparri, Dionysos, *LIMC* III (1986) 414-514, esp. 492: "Dioniso in processione su carro navale".

[17] See e.g. Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 12-13. See also on the Dionysiac ship-chariot: Robertson, *RhM* 128 (1985) 292-295.

[18] M.P. Nilsson, *Studia de Dionysiis atticis* (Diss. Lund 1900) 125 ff.; also Nilsson 1906, 268 ff.

[19] Deubner 1932 102 ff.; Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 12; Lehnstaedt 1970, 92 ff.; Parke 1977, 109; Simon 1983, 93; Graf 1985, 386-7.

[20] Frickenhaus, *JdI* 27 (1912) 61 ff.; Burkert 1972, 223. Gasparri, *LIMC* III (1986) 502: "sicuramente connessi con le Grandi Dionisie", is overconfident.

[21] Alternatively we could consider the possibility that these ship-chariots carried an image of Dionysos. In the vase paintings he does not look like a statue, but here again we might attribute the rather lifelike, and un-statue-like, appearance of the god to the vase painter's imagination. The vase paintings give no clue to decide between the various possibilities. On such Dionysiac ambiguities see Versnel 1990, esp. 131-150.

The second vase, an amphora of about 540/520 B.C. [V32: Munich 1441], has on the obverse Dionysos welcomed by a man, presumably Ikarios, and a goat between them. There is nothing to indicate whether this goat is intended as a sacrificial animal. Under one handle there is an altar, and a woman standing behind it (because of her position she may be interpreted as a priestess). The altar is approached, on the reverse of the vase, by a procession consisting of a man holding twigs and a wreath, a man carrying twigs and an oinochoe, accompanied by a ram, a male kanephóros carrying an oinochoe, a pipe-player, and a smaller man, partly under the other handle. This picture may refer to a mythical sacrifice in connection with Ikarios' reception of Dionysos.[22] The fact that the male kanephóros nevertheless carries the kanoûn on his head is very unusual, but perhaps we should not make too much of it, for the painter of this vase, the Affecter, "is a stylist as no other, and the content of his figure scenes concern him little."[23]

The Eleusinian goddesses (?)

On a black figure lekythos of the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. [Fig. 12, V9: Athens NM 493], two female figures holding wreaths are seated on either side of a blazing altar. They are best understood as goddesses. As they have no specific attributes, identification is hardly possible, unless we take the find spot into consideration. The lekythos was found in Eleusis, and therefore a tentative identification of the goddesses as Demeter and Kore may not be too farfetched. The sacrificial procession is split in two parts. From the right approach the kanephóros, and two men and a woman holding twigs. A man leading an ox by a rope and holding twigs comes from the left. If any meaning should be read into this disposition, it may be that the procession has arrived in the sanctuary and that the various participants are now taking up their positions round the altar.

Apollo

The sacrificial procession to Apollo on a red figure volute-krater [Fig. 13, V78: Ferrara T 57 c VP] is considerably later than the pictures we have

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[22] For the Ikarios interpretation see Mommsen 1975, nr. 106, with references to older literature; also Angiolillo, *DArch* N.S. 3, 1 (1981) 13-22.

[23] Boardman 1974, 65; see also Mommsen 1975, 68.

seen so far, dating from the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. On the right Apollo is seated in his temple, indicated by columns and entablature; he holds a laurel branch, and his quiver hangs on the wall. Outside the temple, there is a tripod on the right, on the left another tripod and the omphalos covered by the *agrenón*. A man holding a staff stands in front of the temple, facing the cortège which comes from the left. The kanephóros leading the procession wears a richly decorated ependytes over her chiton.[24] The kanoûn is of the elaborate high-handled type, almost certainly made of metal. To the left, behind the kanephóros, stand two youths on either side of a tall thymiaterion, then follow a youth carrying a phiale and three more youths, two of whom lead two bulls by ropes tied to their horns. Both victims are adorned with fillets hung over their horns.

It is usually assumed that the scene is situated in Delphi, and that we have here the arrival in Delphi of an Athenian procession on the occasion of a Pythais.[25] There is no particular objection to this interpretation, apart from the fact that it may be more specific than the iconography allows. Omphalos and tripods are at home in any sanctuary of Apollo (Pythios), anywhere. An interpretation of the scene as an Athenian festival, situated in the Athenian Pythion, is therefore equally acceptable.[26] One might think of the Thargelia. A *lex sacra* containing regulations for this festival mentions a procession, the sacred kanoûn, and the sacrifice of several bovine victims.[27] Admittedly, this inscription is much later (129/8 B.C.), but the provisions are presented as both a continuation and an enhancement of the traditional observances.[28]

BOIOTIAN

A Boiotian black figure plate of about the middle of the sixth century B.C. [Fig. 14, V107: London B 80] has an elaborate picture of a sacrificial

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[24] Ependytes: M.C. Miller, Hesperia 58 (1989) 313-329.

[25] E.g. Alfieri & Arias 1958, 56; Beazley, Sup. *StEtr* 25 (1959) 54 ff.; Metzger 1965, 93; Lehnstaedt 1970, 122. For the Pythais, see Deubner 1932, 203.

[26] Thus Simon 1983, 79.

[27] *LSS* 14.

[28] *LSS* 14, 18-19:

οὐ μόνον διατηροῦντες τὰ πάτρια, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεπ[αύ]ξο̣ν̣<τες>
τάς τε θυσίας καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς.

procession in honour of Athena.[29] The goddess is depicted as Promachos, in the type familiar from Attic vase paintings. Behind her there are a huge snake on a sort of pedestal,[30] and a column indicating the temple. In front of Athena stands a flaming altar on which a bird (hardly an owl) is perched. The procession, approaching from the left, is made up of a kanephóros, a bull led by two men (the first one holds a rope attached to one foreleg of the victim, the second one holds two ropes tied to both its hind legs); a pipe-player walks behind the bull, between the two bull handlers. Then follow four men carrying wreaths, an oinochoe, and knives (or, less likely, short sticks), then four figures in a country cart drawn by two mules, one of whom, the driver, holds a whip, and another one holds a wreath. Behind the cart walks a man holding a long stick or a spear. Finally there are six lively men and a goat, who may or may not belong to the same scene.

This picture has been tentatively interpreted as a procession to Athena Itonia at Koroneia.[31] This sanctuary was an important one in Boiotia, where the Pamboiotian games also took place.[32] Therefore one can easily imagine that for a contemporary Boiotian the picture on our plate would evoke memories of the festivities at that sanctuary. On the other hand, there are no specific elements that would not equally well fit any other Athena festival.

CORINTHIAN

Nearly all sacrificial scenes on vases from Corinth are of the Middle Corinthian period (c. 600-575 B.C.). There usually is a female kanephóros, carrying on her head a kanoûn of a distinctive type. Its shape is best seen on a fragment of a carefully drawn krater [Fig. 15, V326: Corinth T-132]. The "kanoûn" lacks the three vertical projections or handles: it is a flat tray with a narrow rim, clearly made of metal. Often loop handles are riveted to the bottom to facilitate balancing the tray on the head. Typically this tray contains a couple of conical oinochoai and a (probably cylindrical) box or basket of medium hight. One Corinthian

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[29] A comparison of Boiotian, Corinthian and Attic festival scenes: Scheffer, in: Hägg (ed.) 1992, 117-141.

[30] For the snake accompanying Athena cf. the Attic black figure hydria of the late sixth century B.C. [V53: Art market].

[31] I.a. Ure, *JHS* 49 (1929) 168-169; Sparkes, *JHS* 87 (1967) 121.

[32] Schachter 1981, 117-127.

kanephóros precariously carries two such trays, one above the other [V329: Philadelphia MS 552].

A regular sacrificial procession, not unlike the Attic ones, is depicted on an amphoriskos in Oslo [Fig. 16, V117: Oslo 6909 No. 5]. The procession comprises three kanephóroi, a bull, with a fillet hanging from his horns, driven by a man, a female pipe-player, and two women. The contents of the tray of the third kanephóros are atypical: between the two conical oinochoai a heap of black dots is depicted, which were interpreted by Eitrem as barley corns (*olaí*).[33] There is no clue as to the recipient deity.

Furthermore, kanephóroi occur on several Corinthian vases in the context of the *Frauenfest*-theme. This subject was treated in depth by I. Jucker.[34] She has argued that chains of women dancing, padded dancers, and "domestic scenes" (women spinning and women with children), are to be identified as different aspects of a single festival, which she tentatively attributes to Artemis. Others have attributed the Corinthian *Frauenfest* to Hera Akraia, or Demeter, Kore and the Fates, or Athena Ergane.[35] Amyx, however, has cautioned (quite rightly, I think) against the danger of overinterpreting these scenes: "A determined sceptic might well object that processions and chain or ring-dances are a common feature of Greek culture, from the Bronze Age to modern times. It might therefore be argued that a Corinthian representation of a ring-dance would, *per se,* yield no clues as to the specific occasion to which this particular case applied — and that we have no assurance that all such representations refer to a single festival."[36]

On some of the *Frauenfest*-vases, kanephóroi are accompanied by sacrificial animals: cows or bulls [V115: Athens NM Per 2066; cf. V114: Athens NM Per 1578], a goat [V118: Paris CM 94], and perhaps a young kid [V116: Munich 7741].

Finally, a fragmentary Corinthian oinochoe found in Aigina deserves to be mentioned [V113: Aigina K 340], because it is probably the earliest surviving Greek vase painting of a sacrifice (ca. 650 B.C.). Apart from

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[33] Eitrem, *AEphem* 1953-54, I, 25 ff.

[34] Jucker, *AntK* 6 (1963) 47-61.

[35] See Amyx 1988, II, 653 ff. for references, and a very sensible discussion.

[36] Amyx 1988, II, 656-7. The situation in Corinth probably was not much different in this respect from that in Athens, as pictured in the first lines of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata,* and in the scholion on line 1: καὶ γὰρ πολλὰς ἑορτὰς αἱ γυναῖκες ἔξω τῶν δημοτελῶν ἦγον ἰδίᾳ συνερχόμεναι.

that, it is rather disappointing: only part is preserved of a long-robed male (?) figure driving a bull.

General observations

We have seen that even the more comprehensive depictions of sacrificial processions only in the rarest cases can be conclusively attributed to one particular festival. One factor here, of course, is our lack of knowledge, the extent of which should never be underestimated. But on the other hand, it could be observed that even quite detailed representations are more often than not remarkably unspecific, so that it is hard to see how even a well informed contemporary Greek could have established, which festival was meant. It would seem that perhaps it did not matter very much. That would also seem to follow from the fact that in addition to the more comprehensive pictures there are a considerable number that are highly selective. These only depict one or more figures leading one or more sacrificial animals, maybe accompanied by a pipe-player,[37] elements, in short, that could be part of any sacrificial procession. And these "incomplete" pictures are not just the products of sloppiness or disinterest. Some are painted with care and attention to detail, such as an early red figure lekythos by the Gales Painter [Fig. 17, V74: Boston 13.195]. The vase painter has skilfully varied the pose of the two youths holding sprigs who lead two cows to sacrifice. The red-and-white *stémmata* hanging over the cows' horns are among the finest in Greek sacrificial iconography. The kanephóros at the front of the cortege is beautifully draped and has a broad fillet round her head. But the sanctuary where this procession is going to is only summarily indicated by a single column with a red fillet tied round it. All in all, a detailed but absolutely unspecific picture.

What the market wanted, and what vase painters aimed at, apparently, were rather generalized depictions of festive sacrificial processions. Naturally the vase painter might introduce, from some recent experience or a particularly lively memory, elements belonging to a specific festival, but that would be incidental. Any nice picture evoking the general idea of festive sacrifice was equally satisfactory.[38]

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[37] E.g. [V12: Athens NM 18568; V35: New Orleans; V36: Orvieto 1001; V42: Rome VG; V82: Ferrara T 734 VT; V84: Florence V 45; V85: Leipzig 2655; V76: Cambridge, Ma., 1959.129; V99: Art market].

[38] Similarly, when religious festivals are remembered, usually with great pleasure, in comedy, the reference sometimes is not to specific festivals but to festive occasions

Without kanephóros

Sacrifices on votive pots

A number of pictures show an animal being led to sacrifice, without any indication that a full scale festive procession was involved. The kanoûn, in these cases (if it is depicted), is typically held in one hand by a male figure. Some of these vase paintings may refer to private sacrifices, and in certain instances, where we happen to know that they were found in a sanctuary, it is probable that the pots had been placed there as votive offerings. In such cases we should consider the possibility that they may have been special commissions, decorated by the vase painter with a picture appropriate to the particular purpose they were to serve. There are, in fact, pots with votive inscriptions that were painted on before firing.[39] In the absence of such inscriptions, we cannot be certain, but there may be other indications that the subject of the decoration was chosen with a view to the pot's use as a votive offering for a specific occasion. We shall consider some finds from the Athenian Akropolis, which, on account of their provenance, may with a fair degree of probability be regarded as votives to Athena.

On fragments of a black figure amphora of Panathenaic shape (but not, judging from its decoration, a regular prize amphora), dating from the end of the sixth century B.C., we have the remains of five male figures, all holding twigs [Fig. 18, V16: Athens NM Akr 842]. The foremost of them leads a goat by a rope, and carries a Panathenaic amphora on his shoulder. In all likelihood this represents a victor in the Panathenaic games, accompanied by friends and family, on his way to the Akropolis to sacrifice a goat as a thank-offering, and to dedicate part of his prize as a tithe to the goddess.[40]

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in general: e.g. Aristophanes, *Pax* 337-345.

[39] E.g. from the Athenian Akropolis: Graef & Langlotz II 142, Index II C. An Attic black figure Siana cup found in Boiotia has a dedication to Apollo, painted before firing: Boston MFA 03.852, Brijder 1983, cat. nr. 14, pl. 10 b; Immerwahr 1990, nr. 68. See also several Chiot vases, found in the sanctuary of Apollo Phanaios in Chios itself, but also in the Aphaia sanctuary of Aigina and in various sanctuaries in Naukratis (Egypt): R.M. Cook & A.G. Woodhead, Painted inscriptions on Chiot pottery, *BSA* 47 (1952) 159-170; Jeffery ²1990, 338; Boardman 1980, 123, suggests that the ones in Naukratis may have been made locally by Chiot potters with imported potters' clay brought as ballast in the corn ships.

[40] Thus also Valavanis, *AA* 1991, 487-498.

A fragmentary black figure amphora of about the same date depicts a cow or bull being led to sacrifice [Fig. 19, V15: Athens NM Akr 816]. A fillet is hung over its head, and ropes are tied to one foreleg and one hind leg and held by boys on the far left and right of the picture. A man walking on the further side of the victim carries the kanoûn in one hand. There is another man carrying an amphora on his shoulder (now largely lost), followed by a pipe-player and two kithara-players. The names painted above and alongside the figures (not without the occasional misspelling) suggest that the picture refers to a specific occasion.

The same applies to the representation on the neck of a red figure loutrophoros, again of the late sixth century [Fig. 20, V67: Athens NM Akr 636]. A family (?) of two men and two women, all carrying twigs, follow a large sow which a youth drives forward with a stick. Only the lower part is preserved of another male figure, walking in front, who holds an oinochoe in his right hand (in the lacuna a kanoûn may have been depicted, held in his other hand). The sow appears to be pregnant. We know from inscriptions with *leges sacrae* that on some occasions the sacrifice of a pregnant victim was prescribed.[41]

On a very fragmentary red figure krater of the middle or early third quarter of the fifth century, the subjects of the decoration suggest that it may have been especially made as a votive offering, dedicated by the potter himself to his patron goddess Athena [Fig. 21, V69: Athens NM Akr 739]. What remains of the upper zone shows some figures at work in a potter's workshop. In the lower zone youths lead a ram to sacrifice. The krater may have been a very appropriate *aparché* of a potter or a vase painter, showing both the source of the income from which the tithe is taken, and the sacrifice that accompanied its dedication.

From the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis we have two fragments of a cylindrical pot, perhaps a pyxis or a miniature kíste,

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[41] *SEG* 33 (1983) 147, 38-39: (Thorikos), 38-39: a pregnant ewe (?) to Demeter. — *LS* 18 (Erchia), E 16-21: a pregnant ewe to Ge. — *LSS* 18 (Paiania), B 29-30: a pregnant sow for the Antheia. — *LS* 20 (Marathonian Tetrapolis), A 28: a pregnant ewe; A 43: a pregnant sow; B 9: a pregnant cow to Ge; B 12: a pregnant ewe to Daira; B 48: a pregnant sow to Eleusinia; B 49: a pregnant sow to Chloe. — *LSS* 19 (Salaminioi), 92: a pregnant ewe to Athena Skiras. — *LS* 96 (Mykonos), 11-13: two sows, one of which pregnant, to Demeter Chloe; 16: a sow, pregnant for the first time, to Demeter. — *LS* 151 (Kos), A 55-56: a pregnant ewe to Athena Polias; A 59-60: a pregnant ewe to Demeter; B 2: a pregnant ewe to Rhea. — *LS* 154 (Kos), B 37-46. — *LSS* 87 (Lindos): a pregnant ewe (?) and sow to Demeter. — *LSA* 41 (Miletus), 6: a pregnant white ewe to Hera Antheie. See Nilsson 1967, 151.

decorated with a polychrome relief representation [V104: Eleusis]; it is dated to the second quarter of the fourth century B.C. One fragment preserves Demeter seated on a kíste beside a thymiaterion. On the other fragment are two male figures, one of whom holds a stick-like object in his left hand, and carries a small animal in his right hand. The relief is very worn and details are unclear, but a comparison with, for instance, the relief scene on the shoulder of the somewhat later hydria which is known as the "Regina Vasorum" [Fig. 22, V103: Saint Petersburg St 525], suggests that the figure on the fragment in Eleusis is an initiate with the mystic piglet and bákchos.[42] Subject and find spot of the unusual Eleusinian fragments make their interpretation as a specially commissioned votive pot plausible.

Sacrifices at herms

On the vases in this class that were not, as far as we can see, connected with any particular occasion, but bore a depiction of a sacrifice as a subject of a vaguely general interest, sacrifices at herms are strikingly well represented (as they are, incidentally, in representations of the later phases of the sacrificial ritual). Herms of the quadrangular type, Thoukydides tells us, were a local phenomenon in Athens, generally to be found at the doorways of private houses and in sanctuaries.[43] This passage is well illustrated by an Attic red figure loutrophoros with a representation of a procession conveying the water for the bridal bath towards a herm and an altar standing at a house door,[44] and by a votive relief from the Athenian

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[42] On the χοῖρος μυστικός see the Introduction 1.2. Metzger 1965, 34/4, is uncertain of the species of the animal: "porc ou chien?"; Zervoudaki, AM 83 (1968) 45/111: "Hund? Kein ferkel". The Regina Vasorum with its magnificent Eleusinian scene is usualy regarded as Attic; e.g. Metzger 1951, 251; Schwarz 1987, 57 V 149; Zervoudaki, *AM* 83 (1968) 36/77, thinks it is "Unteritalisch, wahrscheinlich kampanisch, attischen Arbeiten sehr nahe."

[43] Thoukydides VI 27, 1 (the mutilation of the herms in 415 B.C.): ἐν δὲ τούτῳ, ὅσοι Ἑρμαῖ ἦσαν λίθινοι ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἀθηναίων (εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον, ἡ τετράγωνος ἐργασία, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις προθύροις καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς), μιᾷ νυκτὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι περιεκόπησαν τὰ πρόσωπα. See also Pausanias I 24, 3. Siebert, Hermes, *LIMC* V (1990) 285-387, esp. 295-306: "Le pilier hermaïque".

[44] Carlsruhe 69/78, Attic red figure loutrophoros c. 430/420 B.C., *ARV*² 1102 (III) 2: near the Naples Painter; *CVA* 3, pl. 44-45; *Cité* 1984, fig. 12; Weiss, in: J. Christiansen & T. Melander (eds.) 1988, 652-664.

Asklepieion showing the sanctuary bordered on one end by a herm, and by a Hekateion on the other [R18: Athens NM 1377].[45]

Moreover, the Attic countryside was dotted with herms, the *Hippárcheioi hermaî,* set up at the instigation of Peisistratos' son Hipparchos as halfway marks between Athens and each of the demes, and inscribed with edifying maxims.[46] It is probably such a herm, past which a fisher-boy is seen running on a pelike by the Pan Painter.[47] He carries baskets filled with fish on a pole over his shoulder, hurrying from the shore (where the fish have been caught, as shown on the other side of the pelike) to the market in Athens.

It follows from the above that the presence of a herm in a sacrificial scene may mean no more than a rather general indication of the setting: a sacrifice in some sanctuary (for herms could be encountered in any sanctuary), or, if we think of the herms at the doors of private houses, a domestic sacrificial ceremony. At least there is something distinctly domestic about the boy at a herm, catching a pig by one hind leg, on another pelike by the Pan Painter [V71: Berlin 1962.62].[48] The lonely ram, nibbling at a twig from an altar at a herm, on an (early Campanian?) red figure krater [Fig. 23, V70: Berlin F 3011], has a certain rural flavour.

Two late sixth century Attic black figure vases have more conventional pictures of sacrifices. A goat is led to the altar at a herm by two men holding twigs, one of them also carrying the kanoûn [Fig. 24, V52: Art market], or by a pipe-player and a man holding twigs [V54: P.c. Abbé Mignot].

Outside Attika the motif also occurs. From the second half of the fifth century we have two Boiotian Cabiran skyphoi, one with a sow, the other with a bull being led towards a herm [Fig. 25 and 26, V110: Athens NM 426 and V112: Cassel].

A much later Campanian bell-krater, of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., has a fairly elaborate scene [Fig. 27, V124: Port Sunlight

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[45] For the general occurence of Hekateia at doors and entrances cf. Aristophanes, *Vespae* 805: ὥσπερ Ἑκάτειον πανταχοῦ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. Cf. *Lysistrata* 63-4.

[46] Harpokration s.v. Ἑρμαῖ; Platon, *Hipparchus* 228d-229b.

[47] Vienna IV 3727, *ARV*² 555/88; *CVA* pl. 76, 1-3; Beazley 1931, pl. 23, 1-2.

[48] The reverse of this pelike shows two more herms, so perhaps we should think of one of the multiple-herm monuments in the Athenian Agora, on which see below.

5008].[49] A herm is approached from the left by a boy leading a goat, and a man. On the right of the herm is a youth holding the kanoûn and a phiale, and another youth with his right hand raised in prayer. Above hangs a horned animal-skull, decorated with fillets.

To return to Attika and Athens: herms, as we saw, were fairly ubiquitous there, but they had accumulated particularly densely in one spot, near the northwestern entrance to the Athenian agora, which could therefore simply be referred to as "The Herms".[50] And there, among The Herms, we know of one specific monument, comprising three herms, set up by Kimon and his colleagues in commemoration of their victory over the Persians at Eion in Thrace, in 476/5 B.C.[51] J. de la Genière has proposed to recognize this monument on a fragmentary pelike by that great herm-lover, the Pan Painter, dated about 470 B.C. [V308: Paris Louvre C 10793].[52] The picture on one side shows two herms facing each other, and a third, frontal one between them. The other side has a girl carrying a kanoûn on her head, and a young man handling a hydria; clearly some sacrificial ritual is meant. The lower part of the picture is missing; a sacrificial animal might have been depicted there, but there does not seem to be much room for it.

De la Genière's identification of the triple herm monument is attractive, and other scholars have generally followed her.[53] We must, however, keep in mind that multiple herm monuments were not uncommon. On a black figure pelike, which antedates the capture of Eion by a good quarter of a century [Fig. 28, V38: Paestum], a man holding an elaborate kanoûn decorated with sprigs leads a ram to a group of three herms on the right. Of the three herms, one is much smaller than the other two. A fourth, single herm frames the picture on the left. A female pipe-player followed

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[49] The krater is classed as Campanian by Trendall, *LCS* Sup. 3 (1983) p. 131, 2/286 b, and Robertson 1987, 44 nr. 50. Ian McPhee, *apud* Robertson, believes it may be Attic.

[50] On the whole question of The Herms, and the still somewhat elusive Stoa of the Herms, see Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 94-96.

[51] Aischines 3 (*Κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος*), 183-185 on the three herm monument. On the capture of Eion: Thoukydides I 98, 1; Meiggs 1972, 68.

[52] J. de la Genière, REA 62 (1960) 249-253.

[53] Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 94; Webster 1972, 137; R. Osborne, *ProcCambrPhilSoc* 211 (1985) 47-73.

by a gesticulating man, on the reverse, may belong to the sacrificial cortege.

We have several vase paintings with worshippers at two herms.[54] The most interesting one is on a black figure skyphos of the late sixth century B.C. [Fig. 29, V11: Athens NM 12531]. On the right is a high stepped base surmounted by two herms facing each other, with an altar in between. A youth carrying on his head a kanoûn with fillets hanging from it climbs the steps. He is followed by a man leading a sturdy he-goat, whose horns are hung with fillets, a man carrying two baskets on a pole over his shoulder, and a pipe-player. The double herm monument depicted on this vase has such a distinctive shape, that it seems likely that a well known real monument (or perhaps rather shrine) was meant, which the contemporary public would have recognized.[55]

Mythical sacrifices

Mythical representations of animals being led to sacrifice add little to what we have seen so far. There is a small number of Attic late black figure vases, on which Herakles is seen leading or driving a bull.[56] In some instances the bull is clearly identified as a sacrificial victim by the customary stémmata hung over his horns. The best example is a bilingual amphora by the Andokides Painter [V378: Boston MFA 99.538]. It has the same subject in black figure on one side and in red figure on the other. Herakles is fully equipped with his lion's skin, bow and quiver, and club. In his left hand he holds a bundle of spits (*obeloí*),[57] and a rope which is tied to the bull's horns. Two wine-skins are suspended from his left arm. The bull is adorned with the sacrificial stémmata. The episode must no doubt be identified with Herakles' sacrifice at Lindos, succinctly related by Apollodoros as follows: "And traversing Asia he put in to Thermydrai, the harbour of the Lindians. And having loosed one of the bullocks from

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[54] See Webster and Osborne (previous note). Also J. Marcadé, *BCH* 76 (1952) 596-624; Metzger 1965, 77 ff.

[55] A. Malagardis, AntK 28 (1985) 71-92, tentatively connects this representation with certain finds from the northwestern part of the Athenian Agora.

[56] Brommer ³1973, 204-5; Boardman *et al.*, Herakles, *LIMC* IV (1988) 799-800: "Herakles with sacrificial animals or with spitted meat".

[57] These objects have been called various things by various scholars, but this need not concern us any longer since U. Kron, *JdI* 86 (1971) 131-144, conclusively identified them as a bundle of spits.

the cart of a cowherd, he sacrificed it and feasted (εὐωχεῖτο θύσας). But the cowherd, unable to protect himself, stood on a certain mountain and cursed. Wherefore to this day, when they sacrifice to Herakles, they do it with curses."[58] The spits Herakles carries on the Boston amphora will be put to good use when the animal has been slaughtered and the meat is prepared for the feast.[59]

2.1.2. *Preliminary rituals performed at the altar*

This group consists of vase paintings in which the sacrificial animal is still alive and well, held ready at the altar, where the rites are performed that precede the actual killing of the victim.

Basket and basin (kanoûn and chérnips)

A not very large but closely coherent iconographical series of Attic red figure vase paintings of the Classical period is defined by the following motif: at the altar a young man stands holding the kanoûn in his slightly raised left hand, and a container in his lowered right hand; a bearded man standing next to him stretches out his hands towards that container, or dips them into it. The container in question is of a distinctive shape. It has an angular profile with concave sides, widening slightly towards the top, and is provided with small handles, only one of which is visible on the side facing the viewer. The clearest depictions leave no doubt that it was made of metal.

The identification of this container can not have posed any problems to a Classical Athenian, who must have seen it regularly at the sacrifices he attended. Fortunately for us, who lack his experience, it occurs in a well defined iconographical context, which refers to a ritual reality that is also the subject of several literary texts. The most informative one is a passage in Aristophanes' comedy *Peace,* which was produced at the City Dionysia in 421 B.C. Towards the end of the play, Trygaios, an Attic farmer tired of ten years of war, decides to found a cult of Eirene. Naturally this foundation requires a sacrifice, and a considerable part of the rest of the play is taken up by the sacrificial ritual which is performed on the stage.

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[58] Apollodoros, *Bibliotheca* II 5, 11; translation Sir James George Frazer (Loeb ed.), where also the other testimonia are listed.

[59] Durand 1986, 145-173.

There is, of course, the occasional lapse into comic exaggeration, but basically the poet conforms to the normal ritual of contemporary sacrifice as his audience knew it. After some haggling over the species of animal to be sacrificed, a sheep is decided on, and then Trygaios and his slave, who throughout this scene acts as his acolyte, assemble the necessary requisites. Trygaios commands the slave: "Now go and get the sheep and bring it as quickly as possible. I shall provide an altar on which to sacrifice."[60] They both go inside, after a bit Trygaios returns with a portable altar, and then goes in again to get the kanoûn: "The kanoûn is present, containing barley corns and fillet and knife, and here is fire, so nothing keeps you except the sheep." The chorus urges Trygaios to hurry because otherwise a certain Chairis, a notoriously bad pipe-player, might come and inflict himself upon them. When the slave is back, with a suitable sheep, Trygaios instructs him: "Come on now, you take the kanoûn and the chérnips and walk quickly round the altar from left to right." The slave: "There! You can give the next order: I have gone right round." Trygaios: "Well then, I'll take this piece of firewood and dip it in. (To the sheep:) You, shake quickly! (To the slave:) And you, hand me some of the barley corns, and you too wash your hands after having handed over this (container) to me, and throw some of the barley to the audience."[61]

At this point we shall leave Trygaios and his assistant, for the moment. In the preliminary ritual, before the killing of the sheep, they use two main implements. One is the *kanoûn*, the contents of which, we learn in

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[60] Aristophanes, *Pax* 937-8:

ἴθι νυν, ἄγ' ὡς τάχιστα τὸ πρόβατον λαβών·
ἐγὼ δὲποριῶ βωμὸν ἐφ' ὅτου θὐσομεν.

[61] Aristophanes, *Pax* 948-962:

ΤΡ. τὸ κανοῦν πάρεστ' ὁλὰς ἔχον καὶ στέμμα καὶ μάχαιραν,
καὶ πῦρ γε τουτί, κοὐδεν ἴσχει πλὴν τὸ πρόβατον ὑμᾶς.
ΧΟ. οὔκουν ἀμιλλήσεσθον; ὡς
ἣν Χαῖρις ὑμᾶς ἴδῃ,
πρόσεισιν αὐλήσων ἄκλη-
τος, κᾆτα τοῦτ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι
φυσῶντι καὶ πονουμένῳ
προσδώσετε δήπου.
ΤΡ. ἄγε δή, τὸ κανοῦν λαβὼν σὺ καὶ τὴν χέρνιβα
περίιθι τὸν βωμὸν ταχέως ἐπιδέξια.
ΟΙ. ἰδού. λέγοις ἂν ἄλλο· περιελήλυθα.
ΤΡ. φέρε δή, τὸ δαλίον τόδ' ἐμβάψω λαβών.
σείου σὺ ταχέως· σὺ δὲ πρότεινε τῶν ὁλῶν,
καὐτός τε χερνίπτου παραδοὺς ταύτην ἐμοί,
καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ῥῖπτε τῶν κριθῶν.

On circling the altar see Eitrem 1915, 7-29.

passing, are barley corns (*olaí*), fillet (*stémma*) and knife (*máchaira*). The other one is called *chérnips,* i.e. water for washing the hands (also, a container holding such water).[62] The acolyte holds both in his hands, carries them round the altar. The text implies that at some moment Trygaios has washed his hands in the chérnips, for later on he takes over the basin so that the slave can wash his hands too, but before that, Trygaios has dipped a burning piece of wood from the altar into it and sprinkled the animal, in order to induce it to shudder. Apparently the slave too, at some point, has sprinkled water, with rather a generous hand, for a bit later on he alludes to the fact that some of the audience have got wet through "because we pour so much water over them."[63] Trygaios, after having sprinkled the sheep, takes some barley corns from the kanoûn proffered by the slave, but it is not clear from this passage what he does with them. Other barley corns are thrown among the audience by the slave.

In Aristophanes' *Birds,* Pisthetairos, when preparing to sacrifice to the "new gods" (i.e. the birds), tells his slave to pick up the kanoûn and the chérnips, and, after some interference, orders him to go round with the chérnips.[64] And in the *Lysistrata* we learn that water is also sprinkled while the basin is carried round the altar.[65]

New Comedy too has left us some passages in which kanoûn and chérnips are mentioned together as things that must be ready before the sacrificial ceremony can begin.[66]

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[62] See also Athenaios IX, 409 a-c. The vessel as such was probably also called χερνιβεῖον; several of these are mentioned in Athenian inventories (4th century B.C.): *IG* II² 1400, 41 and 50-51; 1413, 1; 1415, 1-2 (two silver ones weighing 1050 drachmae and 940? drachmae); 1421, III 69; 1474, 18-20. Aristophanes fr. 330 Kassel-Austin (= 316 Kock) has the word χερνίβιον. Ginouvès 1962, 311-318, has much material, but is not very clear on the iconography.

[63] Aristophanes, *Pax* 971: ἡμῶν καταχεόντων ὕδωρ τοσουτονί.

[64] Aristophanes, *Aves* (414 B.C.), 850:
παῖ παῖ, τὸ κανοῦν αἴρεσθε καὶ τὴν χέρνιβα; and 958:
αὖθις σὺ περιχώρει λαβὼν τὴν χέρνιβα.

[65] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* (411 B.C.), 1129-1131:
οἳ μιᾶς ἐκ χέρνιβος
βωμοὺς περιρραίνοντες ὥσπερ ξυγγενεῖς
Ὀλυμπίασιν, ἐν Πύλαις, Πυθοῖ ...

[66] Menandros, *Dyscolus* (316 B.C.), 436-440:
ΜΗ. εὐτρεπῆ
ἅπαντα δ' ἡμῖν ἐστι;
ΓΕ. ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία.
ΜΗ. τὸ γοῦν πρόβατον—μικροῦ τέθνηκε γάρ, τάλαν—
οὐ περιμένει τὴν σὴν σχολήν. ἀλλ' εἴσιτε·

Ancient Greek comedy, in principle, is situated in contemporary society, though both Old and New Comedy contribute their own distortions. Tragedy has myths as subjects, events that were attributed to a distant past. For the practicalities of sacrificial ritual, however, the poet would usually draw on the ritual of his own time, although the tragic sacrifices themselves might be far from commonplace.[67] Thus we find the kanoûn and the lustral water together again, the circling of the altar, and the dipping of the piece of firewood into the chérnips, in Euripides' *Herakles*.[68] And in his *Iphigeneia in Aulis* the familiar carrying round the altar of the kanoûn and the simultaneous sprinkling of the chérnips is performed by Achilles, acting as an acolyte at this human sacrifice.[69]

Already in one of the earliest sacrifices in Greek literature, on the occasion of Telemachos' visit to Pylos in the 3rd book of the *Odyssey,* one of Nestor's sons, assisting his father, holds a basin with water to wash the hands in one hand, and the kanoûn containing barley corns in the other.[70]

Finally, that chérnips and kanoûn were not just any two among many sacrificial utensils, can be inferred from the fact that Demosthenes in his law-court speech against Androtion uses the expression "handling chér-

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κανᾶ πρόχειρα, χέρνιβας, θυλήματα
ποιεῖτε.

An anonymous fragment, D.L. Page, *Select Papyri* III (1941) 270 nr. 59:

ἔλ[ο]υσα, πῦρ ἐπόησα, χέρνιβον
ἵμ[ησα, τ]ὸ κανοῦν ὡς προσῆκεν ἀρτίως
ἔ[στησ'] ἔχων μάχαιραν ...

See also Straton fr. 1 Kassel-Austin.

[67] See Mikalson 1991.

[68] Euripides, *Hercules Furens* (c. 420 B.C.?), 926-30:

ἐν κύκλῳ δ' ἤδη κανοῦν
εἵλικτο βωμοῦ, φθέγμα δ' ὅσιον εἴχομεν.
μέλλων δὲ δαλὸν χειρὶ δεξιᾷ φέρειν,
ἐς χέρνιβ' ὡς βάψειεν, Ἀλκμήνης τόκος
ἔστη σιωπῇ.

And 941, spoken by Herakles in his frenzy:

ἐκχεῖτε πηγάς, ῥίπτετ' ἐκ χειρῶν κανᾶ.

See also *Iphigenia Taurica* 58 for the sprinkling of chérnips on the victim.

[69] Euripides, *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (406 B.C.), 1568-9:

ὁ παῖς δ' ὁ Πηλέως ἐν κύκλῳ βωμὸν θεᾶς
λαβὼν κανοῦν ἔβρεξε χέρνιβάς θ' ὁμοῦ.

[70] Homer, *Odyssey* 3, 440-2:

χέρνιβα δέ σφ' Ἄρητος ἐν ἀνθεμόεντι λέβητι
ἤλυθεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο φέρων, ἑτέρῃ δ' ἔχεν οὐλὰς
ἐν κανέῳ.

nibes and kanâ" as a concise and vivid summarization of "officiating at sacrificial ceremonies."[71]

If we return now to the relevant series of vase paintings to take a closer look at them, we are still not equipped with the same frame of reference as a contemporary Athenian, but at least we have redeemed as much of it as the patchy state of our evidence allows. In the present case, it is fortunately enough for us to confidently recognize the container which the acolyte holds together with the kanoûn as the chérnips.[72]

On a bell-krater in Agrigento of about 425 B.C. [Fig. 30, V127: Agrigento 4688], Apollo, holding a laurel branch, is seated on the right, inside a temple which is indicated by a column and architrave. In front of the temple, more or less in the centre of the picture, is the altar, at which stands the young man holding the kanoûn (in the shape of a flat tray, probably with three sprigs projecting from the rim) and the chérnips, in which a bearded man dips his hands. On the left of the altar we have the victim, a he-goat held steady by a youth, and a pipe-player. In the background, behind the altar, is a column surmounted by a tripod, and on the left a slender tree. A fragment in Oxford [Fig. 31, V134: Oxford 1954. 261] preserves little more than the chérnips, the hand holding it, and two hands dipped into it, and part of the top of the altar on which there is a small amorphous heap of something or other.

The central scene of the Agrigento krater is repeated on a bell-krater in Boston [Fig. 32, V131: Boston 95.25], which also has a small heap on top of the altar. Here, the recipient god is not depicted; on the right stands another bearded man, leaning on a staff. The victim, on the left of the altar, in this case is a ram. Above the figures hang a garland and a horned skull adorned with a fillet. Name-inscriptions were painted above all figures. The names, from left to right: Kallias, Mantitheos, (the name of

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[71] Demosthenes, 22 (*Κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος*, ca. 354/3 v.C.), 78: ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τοῦτ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι προήχθητ' εὐηθείας καὶ ῥᾳθυμίας, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τοιαῦτα ἔχοντες παραδείγματα ταῦτα μιμεῖσθε, ἀλλ' Ἀνδροτίων ὑμῖν πομπείων ἐπισκευαστής, Ἀνδροτίων, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί. καὶ τοῦτ' ἀσέβημα ἔλαττον τίνος ἡγεῖσθε; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι δεῖν τὸν εἰς ἱερὰ εἰσιόντα καὶ χερνίβων καὶ κανῶν ἁψόμενον καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιμελείας προστάτην ἐσόμενον οὐχὶ προειρημένον ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἁγνεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν βιὸν ὅλον ἡγνευκέναι τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων οἷα τούτῳ βεβίωται.

[72] The identification of the chérnips is fairly generally agreed upon in recent literature. Hooker's suggestion that the vessel contained incense, *JHS* 70 (1950) 35 nt. 7, has little to recommend it.

the main figure in the middle is now missing), Hippokles and Aresias, are all known in Athens in the relevant period, and therefore this vase may well have been specially commissioned on the occasion of a particular sacrifice. Beazley has tentatively identified the figures with some right-wing, antidemocratic elements in late fifth-century Athens.[73] Although the identification of historical personalities on the basis of first names only (without patronymic or demotikon) is notoriously unreliable, in this case it is perhaps slightly less so, because Aresias is a relatively uncommon name.

On another bell-krater of the same period [Fig. 33, V130: Boston 95.24] the bearded sacrificer is about to wash his hands, and the sacrificial animal is again a ram, but other details vary. The acolyte holds a proper kanoûn, not the flat tray. The rather low altar is of a distinctive shape, built of irregular stones covered by a slab, with a small pile of firewood on top of it. A young man is seated on the right, but there is no pipe-player. In the background there are two trees, and, partly obscured by the hilly landscape, Hermes in the upper left corner and a youth in the upper right corner.

Finally, on a bell-krater in The Hague [Fig. 34, V136: The Hague OC(ant) 5-71] the representation is reduced to the acolyte holding kanoûn and chérnips, the sacrificer (in this instance a beardless youth) washing his hands, a youth holding the sacrificial ram, and the altar with a horned skull hanging above it.

Earlier, shortly before the middle of the fifth century, we already find the association of kanoûn and chérnips in the picture of the inside tondo of a kylix [Fig. 35, V137: Vatican]. Both are held by the typical youthful acolyte, standing beside a table with a twig lying on it. The chérnips-vessel is of a slightly different, less angular shape than the ones on the vases studied above, but there can be no reasonable doubt about its identification. On the outside of this kylix we have, on the obverse and reverse respectively, a bull and a ram being led to sacrifice by a similar youth holding the kanoûn.

A bell-krater in Istanbul, also dated a little before the middle of the fifth century [V132: Istanbul], poses a problem. A sacrifice of a sheep to Apollo is depicted. A youth standing at the blood-stained altar holds in his left hand the kanoûn with largish twigs set in the three handles, and in his right hand a plate or shallow bowl. On the basis of the representations

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[73] Beazley, *AJA* 33 (1929) 366-7.

listed above, one might be tempted to see here an alternative form of the chérnips-vessel, although it seems rather too shallow and is held a bit too high for a convenient washing of the hands. The bearded sacrificer holds his right hand over this vessel, while his opened left hand points downwards towards the altar and the head of the sacrificial animal. A possible, but far from certain, interpretation of his gesture could be, that he is sprinkling water from the shallow vessel onto the victim's head with his bare hands, instead of with the piece of burning firewood that is regularly used for that purpose in the texts quoted above. If true, this would be a unique depiction of that part of the preliminary ritual, which is otherwise absent from our vase paintings. Another feature which is mentioned in the texts but not found in the vase paintings, is the carrying round the altar of kanoûn and chérnips. With the one possible exception of the Istanbul krater, the chérnips is always depicted in an etymological fashion, so to speak, i.e. in being used to wash the hands.

The central theme of this group of Attic vases of the Classical period, with the acolyte holding kanoûn and chérnips, is taken up again, about a century later, on a Campanian bell-krater with a sacrifice to Apollo [V138: Paris Louvre K 5]. Here the sacrificial animal is not depicted.[74]

An Attic calyx-krater of the first half of the fourth century B.C., representing preliminary rites at the altar but lacking the chérnips-vessel, is best appended here [Fig. 36, V128: Athens NM 12491]. On the right of the altar, with the firewood neatly arranged on top, stands a bearded man. He bends over the altar and with both hands appears to deposit something on it. Judging from the position of his hands, it may have been a garland that was painted on, but is now no longer visible on the vase. Behind him, on the right, the victim stands ready, held by a youth; it is a white pig adorned with a fillet or garland surrounding its belly.[75] On the left of the altar stands another bearded man, holding sprigs in his left hand, and with his right hand taking something from a kanoûn, with sprigs projecting from the three handles, which is proffered by a youth standing on the far left. In the background behind the altar is a column surmounted by a

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[74] Trendall, *LCS* 260, interprets the picture as a sacrifice to Poseidon, whom he sees in the seated figure on the right. It seems to me that what this figure holds is a sceptre ending in an outsize floral bud, rather than a trident. The youth seated in the upper zone beside a small temple and holding a laurel branch should be Apollo.

[75] See below 5.1.

votive pinax or relief, or possibly a small shrine.[76] A horned skull hangs on the right of it, and part of a skull with the horns attached on the left. The absence of the chérnips, though in reality it would normally be in view during this part of the rites, is a useful reminder to us that vase painters were under no obligation to be exhaustive in their depictions.

The picture does not show what the man on the left is taking from the kanoûn, but from what we are told of its usual contents, a handful of barley corns (olaí) would seem the most likely. Neither is there any clue in this picture as to where these will be scattered. What evidence we have on the subject is not entirely unambiguous. According to some passages in tragedies by Euripides, the olaí (poetically called *prochútai*) are thrown on the altar,[77] or more precisely into the fire that is already burning on it.[78] According to scholia on Aristophanes, however, they were sprinkled over the head of the sacrificial animal.[79] Of course, the one need not exclude the other, and it is entirely acceptable that Euripides, for instance, taking for granted a general familiarity of his audience with the sacrificial ritual, did not feel the need to be exhaustive any more than our vase painters did.

As we saw earlier, in the sacrificial scene in Aristophanes' *Peace* part of the barley corns were thrown among the audience.[80] This suggests that in normal sacrificial procedure, barley corns would be scattered not only over the altar and the victim, but also over the participants in the ceremony. On closer inspection, however, the passage in Aristophanes might seem a little suspect as evidence, for the throwing of barley among the

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[76] See Van Straten, in: *Le sanctuaire grec* (*Entretiens Hardt* 37, 1992) 254-264.

[77] Euripides, *Electra* 803-4:

λαβὼν δὲ προχύτας μητρὸς εὐνέτης σέθεν
ἔβαλλε βωμούς, ...

[78] Euripides, *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (406 B.C.), 1111-2:

ὡς χέρνιβες πάρεισι εὐτρεπισμέναι,
προχύται τε βάλλειν πῦρ καθάρσιον χεροῖν;

and 1470-1:

κανᾶ δ' ἐναρχέσθω τις, αἰθέσθω δὲ πῦρ
προχύταις καθαρσίοισι ...

[79] Scholion Aristophanes *Nubes* 260: (Sokrates sprinkles someone with grit) καθάπερ τὰ ἱερεῖα ταῖς οὐλαῖς οἱ θύοντες. — Scholion (vetus) *Equites* 1167: ἐκ τῶν ὀλῶν· ὀλαί αἱ μεθ' ἁλῶν μεμιγμέναι κριθαί, καὶ τοῖς θύμασιν ἐπιβαλλόμεναι. — See also Dionysios of Halikarnassos VII 72, 15: συντελεσθείσης δὲ τῆς πομπῆς ἐβουθύτουν εὐθὺς οἵ τε ὕπατοι καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οἷς ὅσιον, καὶ ὁ τῶν θυηπολιῶν τρόπος ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν. χερνιψάμενοί τε γὰρ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καθαρῷ περιαγνίσαντες ὕδατι καὶ Δημητρίους καρποὺς ἐπιρράναντες αὐτῶν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς, *etc.*

[80] Aristophanes, *Pax* 962; see above note 61.

audience leads up to an obscene joke a little further on, which plays on the double meaning of *krithé* (barley corn and *membrum virile*).[81] To prepare the way for this joke, Aristophanes may have exercised a little poetic licence with regard to the details of real ritual, though perhaps not to the extent of wholly inventing the scattering of barley over people.

However that may be, a red figure kylix of the late sixth century B.C. [Fig. 37, V315: Würzburg 474] may provide some additional evidence that olaí would also be thrown to the people attending the ceremony. The picture on one side of the cup shows a man holding a large kanoûn in his left hand and putting something on an altar with his right hand. What it is he places on the altar cannot be distinguished, but one assumes that it would be a handful of barley taken from the basket. On the left, behind this man, are two youths with kylikes. On the right is a youth pouring a libation from a kantharos onto the altar, and behind him, on the far right, a man leaning on a staff and gesturing with his right arm. Names are inscribed next to most of the figures.[82] But in front of the man on the far right is written: καὶ δεῦρ(ο), "hither too!". These must be words spoken by that man, which, accompanied by his lively gesture, probably mean that he wants some of the barley to be thrown his way.[83] This sort of showering, like the *katachúsmata* at a wedding, was believed to have a generally beneficiary effect.[84]

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[81] Aristophanes, *Pax* 963-7:

TP. ἔδωκας ἤδη;
OI. νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν, ὥστε γε
τούτων ὅσοιπέρ εἰσι τῶν θεωμένων
οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ κριθὴν ἔχει.
TP. οὐχ αἱ γυναῖκές γ' ἔλαβον.
OI. ἀλλ' εἰς ἐσπέραν
δώσουσιν αὐταῖς ἄνδρες.

Scholion *Pax* 965: πρὸς τὴν κριθὴν παίζει, ὅτι τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰδοῖον κριθὴν ἔλεγον. See Henderson 1991, 119 nr. 43. A year before, Aristophanes had pronounced himself to be above such things as showering the audience with nuts: *Vespae* 58-9; and again in the *Plutus* 795-9.

[82] Cf. Shapiro, *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 69-73.

[83] On the inscription: Beazley, *AJA* 58 (1954) 189-190. The alternative interpretation, however, that καὶ δεῦρο is meant as part of a prayer, imploring the gods to come to the sacrifice, cannot be entirely excluded; cf. e.g. Aristophanes, *Equites* 581-94.

[84] Nilsson 1967, 127 ff., 149; Deubner, *RhM* 121 (1978) 240-254; cf. Eitrem 1915, 261-308. Aristophanes, *Plutus* 768 with scholion quoting from Theopompos' *Hedychares*. A depiction of *katachúsmata* at a wedding: Boston MFA 10.223, fragments of an Att. rf. loutrophoros, *ARV*[2] 1017/44: Phiale Painter; Oakley, AA 1982, 113 ff.; Oakley 1990, 25 nr. 44.

Finally it should be noted that most of the vase paintings in this section give no indication at all as to the identity of the god to whom the sacrifice is made. Apparently interest was focused more on the content of the ritual than on its direction. The gods that are depicted are Hermes (once, on [V130: Boston 95.24], but his position in the picture is such that it is by no means certain that he is the recipient of the sacrifice), and Apollo (twice on Attic vases [V127: Agrigento 4688; V132: Istanbul] and once on a Campanian one [V138: Paris Louvre K 5]). So Apollo is in the majority, for what it is worth. It may not be significant; Apollo has a tendency in this period to intrude in all sorts of scenes where he does not really belong.[85]

Kanoûn and chérnips in mythical sacrifices

The figure of the acolyte holding kanoûn and chérnips is also found on several vase paintings with mythical sacrifices, all from the second half of the fifth century (mostly towards the end) and the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.

Herakles' sacrifice to Chryse

On his way to Troy, Herakles visited the island of Chryse near Lemnos and there offered sacrifice to the homonymous goddess. This event forms the subject of a small number of Attic red figure vase paintings.[86] For the identification of the scene a bell krater of the late fifth century, which has the names of the figures inscribed, is important [Fig. 38, V371: Vienna IV 1144].[87] In the centre is a rustic altar of rough stones covered by a slab, on which a small fire is burning. Behind the altar there is a column supporting a statue of a goddess in archaic style (Chryse). To the left of the altar stands Herakles, turning and beckoning to Ioleos on the far left, who is leading a bull with a fillet on its horns to the altar. On the right stands Nike, who here acts as acolyte, holding the kanoûn (a flat tray with

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[85] For the "Apollinisation" of mythical iconography in the Classical period, see Moret, *RA* (1982) 109-136.

[86] Hooker, *JHS* 70 (1950) 35-41; Froning 1971, 52-66; Froning, Chryse I, *LIMC* III (1986) 279-281; Boardman *et al.*, Herakles, *LIMC* V (1990) 1-192, esp. 112: "Herakles' sacrifice to Chryse".

[87] Inscriptions: Ἰόλεως Ἡρακλῆς Χρύση Νίκη.

three sprigs projecting from its rim) and the chérnips. On the far right is a boy (unnamed) taking the lid off a cylindrical box or basket (*kíste*).

The curious rustic altar recurs in all, and the archaic image in most of the vase paintings in this series. On all vases except the one in Vienna, a young man acts as acolyte. On a fragmentary calyx-krater, also of the late fifth century, he is missing, but part of the characteristic chérnips-vessel survives [V370: Taranto 52399]. Here the bull bends his head downwards, "kneeling" with one of his forelegs. The kíste is again present. A pelike from Kerch, of the same date, shows Herakles holding a garland in both hands, which may be intended for the adornment of the bull, who is quite lively here [Fig. 39, V369: Saint Petersburg KAB 43 f]. On a fragment of a slightly later krater of the same provenance, Herakles holds a stémma of the type that usually is hung over the horns of sacrificial bulls or cows [Fig. 40, V368: Saint Petersburg KAB 33 a]. On this fragment inscriptions with the names of the youth leading the bull (Lichas) and Herakles are preserved.[88] On the earliest (probable) depiction of the story, a fragment of a krater of the third quarter of the fifth century B.C., one of the figures actually dips his hands in the chérnips. This picture is somewhat different from the other ones, but the altar is the usual rustic one built of rough stones that appears to have been an essential feature of the story, maybe echoed by the words βωμὸν ἐπικεχωσμένον in the metrical *hypothesis* which is found in two manuscripts of Sophokles' *Philoktetes*.[89]

Theseus

A fragmentary Attic krater from Serra di Vaglio, in the ornate style of the late fifth century B.C., has a picture which so far is unique in Attic iconography [Fig. 41, V431: Potenza 51534]. It is fortunate that the main figures have their names inscribed, otherwise the interpretation would have posed insuperable difficulties.[90] Theseus and Peirithoos stand at a large altar; Peirithoos, who is smaller than Theseus, holds a huge elaborate kanoûn, obviously made of metal, in his left hand and the chérnips in his right hand.[91] On the right stands Leda (?), holding a garland, and behind her Helen. The sacrificial animal, which must have approached the

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[88] Inscriptions: Λίχας [Ἡρα]κλῆς.

[89] Preceding the text of the *Philoktetes* in Pearson's edition of Sophokles (OCT 1971).

[90] Inscriptions: [Θεσ]εύς Περίθοο[ς] [Λ]ήδα Ἔρως Ἑλέ[νη].

[91] Greco, *RIA* S. III 8-9 (1985-86) 8, mistakenly identifies the chérnips-vessel as a phiale.

altar from the left, is lost, but part of the youth leading it survives. Two hovering Erotes crown Theseus and Helena. Underneath the altar (to be understood as in the foreground, in front of it) are some sprigs, a hydria, and a boy bending over a kíste. Above the altar hangs a horned skull. The subject would seem to be an alternative, otherwise unattested, version of the abduction of Helen by Theseus, involving a marriage ceremony.[92]

Oinomaos

An Attic bell-krater of the early fourth century B.C. has a depiction of Oinomaos preparing to sacrifice a ram [Fig. 42, V408: Naples 2200]. The names of the main figures are inscribed.[93] At an altar, in front of a column supporting an archaic image of Artemis, stands Oinomaos in armour, and a youth holding kanoûn and chérnips. From the left a youth leads a ram towards the altar. On the right, Pelops and Hippodameia are making off in a four-horse chariot. In the upper zone are Myrtilos in a chariot, Poseidon, Athena, Zeus and Ganymedes, and a goddess.[94]

Iphigeneia in Tauris

A picture on an Attic calyx-krater of the same period is clearly inspired by Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* [V398: Ferrara T 1145].[95] The painter has composed several moments and characters from the play into a single picture. In the upper centre is a temple with an archaic statue of Artemis, and a table standing in front of it. Wreaths and fillets hang on the back wall. To the left of the temple stands Iphigeneia, holding a large temple-key as a sign of her priestly status,[96] and, in her right hand, the letter home.[97] Orestes and Pylades are sitting on the rocks, underneath and on the left. Thoas is seated on a chair on the right. Higher up, to the right of the temple, stands a female attendant holding kanoûn and (probably) chérnips. Above her hang two horned skulls. The attendant holding

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[92] Cf. Brommer 1982, 93-7; Ghali-Kahil 1955; Kahil, Helene, *LIMC* IV (1988) 498-563.

[93] Inscriptions: Οἰνόμαος Πέλοψ Ἱποδάμεα Μυρτίλος Ποσειδῶν Ζεύς Γανυμήδες.

[94] On the Pelops legend see Lacroix, *BCH* 100 (1976) 327-341.

[95] Trendall & Webster 1971, 91-92; cf. Sansone, *TransactAmPhilAss* 105 (1975) 283-296; Kahil *et al.*, Iphigeneia, *LIMC* V (1990) 706-729.

[96] See Mantes 1990, 28-65.

[97] See Euripides, *Iphigenia Taurica* 725 ff.

kanoûn and chérnips may point to Iphigeneia's explanation of her task in the Tauric ritual of human sacrifice: she only performed the preliminary rites, the actual killing was done by others.[98]

Beautifying the beast

We have seen that the victims in sacrificial representations may be adorned with stémmata, bovine animals quite frequently, other species more rarely. The question arises, at what point in the ceremony the decoration of the animal took place. As the animals in representations of processions often are so adorned, it seems clear that, whenever there was a festive procession preceding the actual sacrifice, the fillets were attached before the start of the procession. The fillets set the animal apart from the rest of the herd or the flock, marking it as a *hierón,* and it made the pompé more fun to watch.[99]

If no procession was included in the ceremony, the fillets would be hung on the animal as part of the preliminary ritual at the altar. In one of the representations of the sacrifice to Chryse, Herakles holds the stémma ready to hang it on the bull's horns [V368: Saint Petersburg KAB 33 a].

An Apulian bell-krater of the second quarter of the fourth century B.C. has an unusual picture of Herakles sacrificing (there are none of the characteristics of the Chryse-sacrifice) [Fig. 43, V384: London F 66]. On the left of a blood-stained altar on which a small fire is burning, Nike is putting a wreath and a fillet on the head of a bull. Of the two bovine skulls hanging above, one is adorned with a similar fillet. Herakles stands at the altar holding a knife, and from the right approaches a woman carrying a plate with sprigs and a jug. The knife Herakles holds over the head of the bull may be poised for the killing, but I think that it is not meant that way. As we are so clearly in the first stage of the sacrificial ritual, it seems much more likely that Herakles here is going to use the knife to cut a few hairs from the bull's forehead and throw them into the fire: a preliminary rite we have not encountered before, but which is well attested in our literary sources. In Euripides' *Electra*, for instance, "Aigisthos from the

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[98] Euripides, *Iphigenia Taurica* 40-41:

κατάρχομαι μέν, σφάγια δ' ἄλλοισιν μέλει
ἄρρητ' ἔσωθεν τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων θεᾶς.

[99] In modern Greece sacrificial bulls are adorned with an abundance of flowers: Aikaterinides 1979, pl. 1 (sacrificial procession in Lesbos in 1969).

basket took the straight-edged blade, and cut from the beast's head one tuft; with his right hand he placed this on the holy flame."[100]

A fillet is hung on the head of a bull by a woman on an Attic red figure oinochoe of the third quarter of the fifth century [Fig. 44, V133: Laon 37.1044], and two women are engaged in decorating two bovine animals in this manner on an Attic amphora of approximately the same period [Fig. 45, V87: London E 284]. The fact that the task is performed here by women calls for an explanation.[101] The vase painting in London (and the one in Laon may well be an abbreviated version of the same motif) includes two large tripods, and through these is associated with a short series of vase paintings connected with Dithyrambic victories.[102] Typically these pictures comprise Nike, tripod, and sacrificial bull.

Dithyrambic contests in Athens were tribal contests. After the victory, the successful choregos received, as representative of his tribe, a tripod which he erected at his own expense upon a monument. Of the many that once stood alongside the Street of the Tripods,[103] the well known monument of Lysikrates survives reasonably intact.[104] There is literary evidence that bulls were part of the prize too: Simonides boasts that he has won no less than fifty-six.[105] Though none of the relevant texts explicitly refers to Athens, the vase paintings do suggest that bulls and tripods went together.

A pelike of the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. shows two Nikai and a bull at a large tripod [V65: Athens NM 16260]. One Nike restrains the bull by a rope, while the other is about to hang a stémma over its

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[100] Euripides, *Electra* 810-2:

ἐκ κανοῦ δ' ἑλὼν
Αἴγισθος ὀρθὴν σφαγίδα, μοσχείαν τρίχα
τεμὼν ἐφ' ἁγνὸν πῦρ ἔθηκε δεξιᾷ

(translation P. Vellacott). See also Homeros, *Odyssey* 3, 444-6:

γέρων δ' ἱππηλάτα Νέστωρ
χέρνιβά τ' οὐλοχύτας τε κατάρχετο, πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνῃ
εὔχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων.

[101] A youth may be adorning a bull on an Attic red figure fragment from the Athenian Akropolis [V129: Athens NM Akr 634]; according to Graef & Langlotz II nr. 634: "Jüngling schmückt Stier zum Opfer." The picture is incomplete, however, and not quite clear.

[102] Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 31 ff.; Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 74 ff.; Froning 1971, 16 ff.; Durand in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 227-241.

[103] Pausanias I 20, 1; Travlos 1971, 566-8.

[104] Travlos 1971, 348-51.

[105] *Anthologia Palatina* VI 213.

horns. In other pictures [V59: Athens; V72: Bologna 286], the bull already wears his fillet, and a Nike is engaged in decorating the tripod with ribbons and twigs. Sometimes satyrs, maenads and Dionysos are present. Though these are not mythical representations in the strict sense, the vase painters have the prizes of victory decorated by (the goddess of) Victory herself, thus lifting the event onto a somewhat more than human level.[106]

A stamnos of the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. has a bull adorned with a fillet drinking from a basin, into which a Nike is pouring water from a hydria [Fig. 46, V90: Munich 2412]. A woman approaches the tripod, holding ribbons. This woman has no wings, so she is no Nike, but it would be incongruous to interpret her as a mere human being, because this would again raise the question: why a woman. Following Furtwängler's convincing interpretation,[107] we may best take this woman, and the two on the amphora in London [V87: London E 284], as personifications of the victorious phylai, who, together with Nikai, perform the ritual acts that in down-to-earth reality would be performed by the human members of the tribe.

Watering the bull before sacrifice, as seen on the Munich stamnos, is a feature we have not encountered so far. As Beazley saw, it is probably also the subject of a considerably earlier vase painting, on a stamnos of the beginning of the fifth century B.C. [Fig. 47, V135: Paris Louvre C 10.754].[108] Here we have a bull, and a large basin standing on the ground underneath its head.[109] A young man stands at the head of the bull, holding one of its horns and patting its forehead, as though enticing it into having a drink. We do not know whether bovine victims were regularly given to drink before sacrifice, and if so, why. It is obvious, however,

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[106] Cf. Moustaka *et al.*, Nike, *LIMC* VI (1992) 850-904, esp. 878-879: "Nike bei Opferhandlungen"; also Brommer 1977, 213-214 note 9.

[107] FR I, text p. 84 f.

[108] Beazley, in: *Scritti Libertini* (1958) 91-95.

[109] The vessel on the Munich stamnos is a bronze laver on three short feet, of the type that people might use as a ποδανιπτήρ: see Ginouvès 1962, 61-75. On the Louvre stamnos it is a simple pottery basin, exactly like the one used for watering bulls on the Attic red figure krater Bologna 299: Oakley 1990, 40, 77 nr. 62 bis, pl. 43-46. The interpretation of the basin on the Louvre stamnos as the sphageîon (vessel to catch the blood), by Durand, in: Detienne & Vernant (eds.) 1979, 176, is less likely.

that in order to drink the animal has to bend down its head, which a Greek would perceive as κατανεύειν, i.e. nodding assent.[110]

Familiar preparations for an outlandish sacrifice: Herakles and Bousiris

"The Greeks in general have a weakness for inventing stories with no basis of fact. One of the silliest is the story of how Herakles came to Egypt and was taken away by the Egyptians to be sacrificed to Zeus, with all due pomp and the sacrificial wreath upon his head; and how he quietly submitted until the moment came for the beginning of the actual ceremony at the altar, when he exerted his strength and killed them all. For me at least such a tale is proof enough that the Greeks know nothing whatever about Egyptian character and custom." That is what Herodotos thinks of the Bousiris episode.[111] Well, silly or not, let us look at a slightly fuller version of the story, as given by Apollodoros: "After Libya he (Herakles) traversed Egypt. That country was then ruled by Bousiris, a son of Poseidon by Lysianassa, daughter of Epaphos. This Bousiris used to sacrifice strangers on an altar of Zeus in accordance with a certain oracle. For Egypt was visited with dearth for nine years, and Phrasios, a learned seer who had come from Cyprus, said that the dearth would cease if they slaughtered a stranger man in honour of Zeus every year. Bousiris began by slaughtering the seer himself and continued to slaughter the strangers who landed. So Herakles also was seized and haled to the altars, but he burst his bonds and slew both Bousiris and his son Amphidamas."[112]

The Bousiris story enjoyed a modest popularity in Greek vase painting: we have some thirty-odd vases depicting this episode, ranging from the middle of the sixth down to the fourth century B.C.[113] And precisely because of the fact that Greek vase painters, as Herodotos so haughtily remarks, knew nothing whatever about Egyptian customs, they are an interesting source of information for Greek sacrificial ritual, and particu-

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[110] Thus Burkert 1972, 11.

[111] Herodotos II 45 (translation A. de Sélincourt).

[112] Apollodoros, *Bibliotheca* II 5, 11; translation Sir James George Frazer (Loeb ed.), where also the other testimonia are listed.

[113] Felletti Maj, *RIA* 6 (1937) 207-225; Fuhrmann, *ÖJh* 39 (1952) 27-30; Snowden, Aithiopes, *LIMC* I (1981) 413-419, esp. nrs. 11-18; Durand & Lissarrague, in: Lissarrague & Thélamon (eds.) 1983, 153-167; Brommer 1984, 42-46; Laurens, Bousiris, *LIMC* III (1986) 147-152.

larly utensils. The Egyptians are given a conventionally barbarian physiognomy. The material details, in which some of the pictures of the Bousiris story are uncommonly rich, are drawn from Greek sacrificial ritual.

On an Attic red figure pelike of the middle of the fifth century B.C. [Fig. 48, V355: Paris CM 393], an Egyptian leads Herakles to sacrifice by ropes tied to both arms and one leg. The hero, famous for his strength, is treated as a large, bovine animal.

Herakles has arrived at the altar on an Apulian dinos of a good century later [V363: New York 1984.11.7]. Two Egyptians hold him by ropes tied to his legs. Facing Herakles, on the other side of the altar, stands Bousiris holding a knife (máchaira). All round the vase, the preparations for the sacrifice are in full swing. Approaching the altar from the right are a young man carrying on his shoulder a three-legged chopping block in the edge of which two cleavers are set, another youth carrying on his head a very wide flat basket and in his right hand a long-handled fan (?), and a third one who carries a kind of trough on his shoulder filled with cakes (?), and a jug in his left hand. On the left, behind the two Egyptians restraining Herakles, a youth empties an amphora into a large kettle under which a fire has been kindled. It is the type of kettle (*lébes*) in which part of the sacrificial meat would be boiled. Another youth brings a second amphora. It is clear from this vase painting, and from others we shall look at, that the intended sacrifice of Herakles was thought of as the type of sacrificial feast that would end in a splendid meal for all participants.

Most vase painters select a later moment in the story, when Herakles has broken loose and is attacking the Egyptians, who try to get away, dropping the sacrificial paraphernalia left and right. Some of the richest collections of utensils deserve a closer look.

In the early Classical period the Pan Painter, who can always be relied upon to make something interesting of scenes of myth and ritual, decorated a pelike with the Bousiris theme [Fig. 49: V341: Athens NM 9683]. The scene goes round the vase, and the room underneath the handles is cleverly used for some of the sacrificial utensils: under one there is a metal basin (very close in shape to the chérnips-vessels[114] we encountered earlier), which was dropped by an Egyptian whom Herakles holds upside down by the legs. Another Egyptian, facing Herakles at the other side of the blood-stained altar, swings a mallet, such as might be used to stun a sacrificial ox. Under the other handle the large kanoûn has fallen on the

[114] Fuhrmann's interpretation of it as a sphageîon, *ÖJh* 39 (1952) 29, is less likely.

ground, dropped by the third Egyptian, who is cowering beside the altar; it has toppled over and the sacrificial knife (máchaira) has fallen out. In an indirect way this confirms that the máchaira was carried in the kanoûn, as we have read in Aristophanes.[115] Three Egyptians on the reverse of the vase carry a knife case containing several knives, a table and a bundle of spits, and a hydria.

That kanoûn and máchaira belong together is expressed in a different manner on some other Bousiris vases. A stamnos of roughly the same date as the Pan Painter's pelike has one of Bousiris' servants holding the basket in one hand, and the knife, which he apparently has taken out of it, in the other [V344: Bologna 174]. On two early versions of the myth, on a black figure amphora of c. 540 B.C. [V340: Cincinnati 1959.1] and a red figure kylix of the end of the sixth century [Fig. 50, V350: London E 38], he has dropped the kanoûn, which now lies on the ground at his feet (upside down, in the case of the Cincinnati amphora), and has only kept the knife, which may come in handy as a defensive weapon.

Conversely, on an early Classical stamnos [Fig. 51, V353: Oxford 521], the Egyptian still holds on to the kanoûn, but he has dropped the knife, which stands on end in front of the blood-stained altar. In this picture, there is also a peculiar rounded wide-mouthed jug, which seems to be falling to the ground underneath the kanoûn; it might be an alternative form of vessel to contain the chérnips, but it is more likely that it served as an oinochoe.[116] The familiar figure of the attendant holding the kanoûn in his left hand and the chérnips in his right hand occurs on the neck of a volute-krater of the same period [Fig. 52, V348: Ferrara T 579 VT]. The kanoûn here has sprigs projecting from its three handles; the chérnips-vessel is a rather wide bowl. This picture is framed on the left by a three-legged chopping block, similar to the one we saw on the Apulian dinos in New York.[117] A knife case is dropped by one of the fleeing Egyptians on the right. The scene here, as on the kylix [V350: London E 38], is further enlivened by two musicians, a kithara-player and a pipe-player.[118]

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[115] Aristophanes, *Pax* 948, see note 61; see also note 66.

[116] On an Attic red figure "Panathenaic" amphora, 475/450 B.C. (Saint Petersburg 2227, *ARV*² 604/52), a youth carries a similar jug and a kantharos.

[117] On chopping blocks, see Chamay, *Genava* N.S. 24 (1976) 281-290.

[118] Musicians are also present on [V347: Ferrara T 499 VT; V349: Leipsic T 651; V359: Rome VG 57912].

Finally, a red figure kylix of the first quarter of the fifth century [Fig. 53, V347: Ferrara T 499 VT] is very rich in ritual requisites. The inside tondo has a running Egyptian, holding a hydria and a capacious basin. It may be a large skyphos, or a chérnips-vessel, but, on the other hand, it might also have been intended for watering the victim, as on an approximately contemporary stamnos mentioned in the previous section [V135: Paris Louvre C 10.754]. In the background there is a bundle of spits, and two similar bundles are depicted on the outside. The picture on the outside goes round the cup. Underneath one handle is an altar with a short-legged bronze basin (*podaniptér*) in front of it. A wide basin under the other handle is probably the *sphageîon,* used to catch the blood of the victim. Furthermore there are a máchaira and a knife case, two hydriai and a broken pot of a different shape, and an unidentified object that may be a very large flat basket.[119]

If we survey the rich spread of equipment depicted on the Bousiris vases, it strikes us that we do not only find the things that are needed for the preliminary ritual, such as kanoûn and chérnips, but frequently also various utensils that will be used after the killing of the victim, for cutting up the carcass and preparing the sacrificial banquet.[120] Outside the Bousiris iconography, vase painters usually are much more economical in this respect, and only include those instruments that are used in the particular phase of the ritual that is depicted.

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[119] A similar basket, if that is what it is, is depicted on [V224: Florence 5 B 2]. Large flat baskets, carried on the head, are more typical of South Italian vase painting, see e.g. de Apulian dinos in New York mentioned above. Compare also the very large flat kanoûn, carried by two youths, on an Attic red figure amphora of Panathenaic shape, 450/425 B.C. [V305: Newcastle-upon-Tyne].

[120] E.g. chopping block: [V348: Ferrara T 579; V363: New York 1984.11.7]; trápeza: [V341: Athens NM 9683; V345: Boston 10.188; V352: New York 15.27; V354: Oxford; V360: Art market]; knife case: [V341: Athens NM 9683; V348: Ferrara T 579; V347: Ferrara T 499 VT]; bundles of obeloí: [V341: Athens NM 9683; V344: Bologna 174; V348: Ferrara T 579; V347: Ferrara T 499 VT; V349: Leipsic T 651; V351: Munich 2428; V352: New York 15.27; V353: Oxford 521; V361: Thessaloniki 8.1]; lébes: [V363: New York 1984.11.7].

2.1.3. *Some special groups*

In this section some representations with sacrificial animals are lumped together which can not be easily assigned to a particular sub-phase of the pre-kill ritual, and some doubtful ones.

Lampadedromia

The Athenians held torch races on several occasions: at the Panathenaia, and at festivals in honour of Hephaistos, Prometheus, Pan, Themis, and somewhat exceptional ones, on horseback, for Bendis.[121] In vase paintings torch racers are easily recognized by their special torches with hand-shields and by their spiked headdress.

Essentially torch races were the transference of fire from one altar to another, and indeed some vases show that the race ended with the kindling of an altar.[122] The contest was again a tribal one. From an inscription of the first half of the fourth century B.C., listing prizes at the Panathenaia, we gather that at that festival the phyle which was victorious at the lampadedromia received a bull, while the individual winner was given a hydria.[123]

One vase painting shows a hydria standing next to the altar where the winning torch racer arrives.[124] On eight vases, all from the last quarter of the fifth and the first quarter of the fourth century B.C., when the

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[121] Jüthner, *RE* s.v. "Lampadedromia"; Deubner 1932, 211 ff.; Schoppa, *AA* 1935, 33 ff.; Corbett, *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 346-351; Metzger 1951, 351 ff.; Giglioli, *ArchCl* 3 (1951) 147-162; Idem, *ArchCl* 4 (1952) 94-97; Metzger 1965, 74, 112 f.; Froning 1971, 78-81; Arias, *AntK* 17 (1974) 121 ff.; Van Straten, in: Versnel (ed.) 1981, 91; Durand in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 227-241; Robertson 1993, 105-108.

[122] Corbett, *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 350.

[123] *IG* II² 2311, 76-7:

H φυλῆι νικώσηι βοῦς
ΔΔΔ λαμπαδηφόρωι νικῶντι ὑδ[ρία].

The 100 and 30 drachmas are what the bull and the hydria cost respectively. Neils 1992, 16, perhaps echoing the translation of this inscription in Miller 1991, states that the amounts of money listed in the margin were given to the winners *in addition to* the prizes mentioned in the text. This is highly unlikely; compare the Erechtheion accounts, where the numerals in the margin clearly indicate the cost of the materials and work mentioned in the text (*IG* I³ 474).

[124] Cambridge, Ma., 1960.344, Attic red figure bell-krater, *ARV*² 1041/10: Manner of the Peleus Painter; *CVA* Robinson 2, pl. 47, 2 and 48, 1. On the ghost-hydria on the volute-krater Ferrara T 127 VT, *ARV*² 1171: Polion, see Froning 1971, 81.

lampadedromia theme was particularly popular in Attic vase painting, we see a restive bull being led to sacrifice by (among others) young men with the attributes of torch racers. Sometimes they are assisted by a Nike [V61: Athens NM 1548; V96: Saint Petersburg St 2070; V98: Vienna IV 1050], sometimes by a female figure without wings, probably the personification of the victorious phyle [Fig. 54, V91: New York MMA 56.171.149; also V60: Athens Agora P 10542; V86: Leipsic T 958; V89: Mannheim 123].[125] These pictures may well refer to torch race victories at the Panathenaia, but we can not be certain, since we know nothing of the prizes for such races at other festivals.

Dipolieia?

The Dipolieia was one of the strangest Athenian festivals.[126] The Athenians themselves, in the Classical period, looked upon it as something extremely old-fashioned, and perhaps also a bit silly, like outmoded hairpins.[127] Most of our information on procedure comes from Pausanias, and Porphyrios (who probably quotes from Theophrastos' book *On piety*).[128] Some of the main points are as follows. On the day of the festival, in the summer, several bulls were led to the sanctuary of Zeus Polieus on the Akropolis. Sacrificial cakes and dough were placed on a bronze table (or, according to Pausanias, barley corns mixed with wheat on the altar). The bulls were driven round it, and whichever of the animals (first?) ate from it, was killed with an axe by a priest called *boutúpos* (or, according to Pausanias, *bouphónos*). The priest fled, and the axe was brought to trial. The hide of the slain bull was stuffed.

Four black figure vase paintings, all by the Gela Painter (about 500 B.C. or a little later), are usually connected with this festival [Fig. 55, V33: Munich 1824; also V23: Berlin F 1882; V37: Oxford 514; V46: Thessaloniki 5232].[129] All have a broad rectangular altar in the centre.

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[125] Cf. above 2.1.2: *Beautifying the beast.*

[126] Burkert 1972, 153-161; Durand 1986, 43 ff.

[127] Aristophanes, *Nubes* 984-5.

[128] Theophrastos, *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* fr. 16-18 Pötscher; Pausanias I 24, 4 and 28, 10. For the other sources see Burkert and Durand, supra.

[129] The list used to comprise five vases, but the skyphos Brussels A 1983 was shown by Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 50 (1975) 265, to be a forgery. The connection of these vase paintings with de Dipolieia is maintained by i.a. Gerhard 1858, 9; Cook 1940, 570 ff., 581 ff.; Bakalakis, *AntK* 12 (1969) 56-60; Burkert 1972, 153-161; Simon 1983, 8-12;

The altar is of a very simple shape, and might just as well be a base of some sort. On all four vases, there is a bull on top of this altar, and a varying number on either side of it. Three of the four pictures have an additional bull, painted in white on the black front of the altar.

The vase paintings, curious as they certainly are, are remarkably lacking in significant detail. The painter may have had the Dipolieia in mind, but then he is not very clear about it, and the strongest reason to accept the connection is perhaps the absence of a convincing alternative interpretation. It is worth noticing that the sculptor of the Hellenistic calendar frieze, built into the Byzantine church of Hagios Eleutherios in Athens ("Mikri Mitropoli"), managed a much clearer reference to the Dipolieia, by making the *bouphónos* hold the double axe over a bull.[130]

Goats under handles

A number of Attic black figure skyphoi by the Theseus Painter (c. 500 B.C.), with more or less religious scenes, have goats under the handles, which are sometimes referred to as sacrificial victims.[131] In one case both obverse and reverse show Herakles and Athena pouring a libation, accompanied by a pipe-player [V391: Mount Holyoke 1925 BS II 3]. The others have a Dionysiac flavour: a procession of revellers [V3-4: Athens Agora P 1544 and 1547; perhaps V20: Athens NM Per 3725], Dionysos himself seated in a country cart drawn by mules [V57: Private collection], or a satyr and maenad at a column-idol of Dionysos [V10: Athens NM 498].

The vase painting mentioned last belongs to the series of so-called *Lenäenvasen,* featuring a makeshift image of Dionysos made up of a mask and a robe hung on a column or a tree.[132] Animal sacrifice is not part of

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Durand 1986, 43 ff. — Deubner 1932, 158 ff. and Haspels, *ABL* 84, are silent on the connection. Contra: Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 146-8.

[130] Deubner 1932, 253 nr. 28, pl. 39; Simon 1983, 6, pl. 2 middle. On this interesting calendar frieze see also Stern 1953, 220-221; Wiesner, *Die Karawane* N.F. 5 (1964/65) 28-38; Karusu, Astra, *LIMC* II (1984) 904-927, nr. 103; Kahil, Artemis, *LIMC* II (1984) 618-753, nr. 623; Bérard, Bouzyges, *LIMC* III (1986) 153-155, nr. 3; Machaira, Horai, *LIMC* V (1990) 502-510, nr. 50; Parrish, Menses, *LIMC* VI (1992) 479-500, nr. 2. Various dates have been proposed for this frieze, ranging from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D.; Stern, however, has argued a probable terminus ante quem for the iconography of the signs of the zodiac in the 2nd century B.C.

[131] E.g. Burkert, *GrRomByzSt* 7 (1966) 87-121; Malagardis, *AntK* 28 (1985) 71-92.

[132] Frickenhaus 1912; Durand & Frontisi-Ducroux, *RA* 1982, 81-108; De la Genière, *MEFRA* 99 (1987) 43-61; Bérard & Bron, *Mél. P. Lévêque* 4 (1990) 29-44; Versnel

the standard iconography of this series, though occasionally a blood-stained altar, or a kanoûn and a table with pieces of meat (?), may occur.[133]

Whether these goats under handles should be regarded as sacrificial animals, is a moot point. They are never incorporated in an unquestionably sacrificial context. And there is, of course, the practical consideration, that there is not enough room underneath the handles of skyphoi for full-size human figures. An animal which in a vague way may be connected with the main scene would then be an attractive option for the vase painter.

2.2. Votive offerings

Offerings of consumable goods, such as animals and cereals, were frequently accompanied by votive offerings of a durable material (wood, clay, metal, stone).[134] In view of the ephemeral nature of the animal and cereal offerings, it was often considered a good idea to include a reference to these in the more lasting ex votos. In its most simple form, such a votive offering might be a replica or depiction of the sacrificed animal or the sacrificial cakes.[135] Alternatively, one might choose a representation of the worshipper bringing these gifts, or, even more elaborate, a more or less complete sacrificial scene.

For us sacrificial representations on votive offerings are an important source of information on ancient Greek sacrifice. These votive offerings would be set up in the sanctuaries where the sacrifices depicted on them had been offered, and since they would have to be acceptable to the priests or other authorities in charge of the sanctuaries, and, in a broader sense, to the other worshippers, they would have to present a fairly truthful image of what really happened. To that extent, they may be regarded as

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1990, 146-150; Frontisi-Ducroux 1991; Halm-Tisserant, *Hephaistos* 10 (1991) 63-88. On the possible connection of these pictures with either the Lenaia or the Anthesteria, see Van Straten, *Lampas* 9 (1976) 51-65.

[133] Attic red figure kylix Berlin F 2290, *ARV*² 462/48: Makron; two Attic red figure stamnoi by the Eupolis Painter: London BM E 452, *ARV*² 1073/9 and Paris Louvre G 407, *ARV*² 1073/10.

[134] Votive pots are grouped with the other vase paintings, see under 2.1.1.

[135] Van Straten, in: Versnel (ed.) 1981, 87.

more direct evidence of sacrifices that were actually made, and sacrificial ritual as it was actually performed, than vase paintings.

2.2.1. *Votive statues and statuettes*

The numerous votive figurines that represent an animal by itself pose a problem of interpretation. In many cases we have good reason to assume that they are a replica of the sacrificial victim, set up as a memento of the sacrifice. This should be true of the terracotta cocks found in the Asklepieia of Athens and Corinth,[136] and probably of the marble pigs and other animals from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Knidos.[137] A bronze sheep from the Athenian Akropolis is inscribed "Supplication of Peisis", thus closely identifying prayer and sacrifice.[138] At first sight, it seems reasonable to interpret all the small bronze sheep, goats and bulls, coming from various sanctuaries all over the Greek world, similarly as mementos of animals sacrificed.[139] On closer inspection, however, one gets the uncomfortable feeling that bovine animals are very much overrepresented. This is particularly evident in the case of the Kabeirion near Boiotian Thebes, where it is possible to contrast the enormous herd of bronze bull

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[136] Holländer 1912, 100 fig. 41; Roebuck, *Corinth* XIV (1951) 143 nr. 50. Cf. Platon, *Phaedo* 118 a.

[137] Smith 1900, nrs. 1303-1310: two pigs, a sow, a boar, a ram, and two bull calves.

[138] Athens NM 6695, De Ridder 1896, 529; *IG* I² 434: Πέσιδος ἱκεσία.

[139] Bronze votive animals, some examples: Athens, Akropolis: pig (Athens NM 6699); bull (Athens NM 6705). — Isthmia, sanctuary of Poseidon: bulls (Broneer, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, 328 nr. 11-12, pl. 68 f-g). — Perachora, Heraion: bull-calf (Athens NM 16156: *Perachora* I 136, pl. 43; Lazzarini 1976, 189 nr. 70; Jeffery 1990, 143 nr. 7). — Astros: bull (Nauplion: *BCH* 98, 1974, 604, fig. 81).— Laconia, Kynouria: goat dedicated to Maleatas (Athens NM 7666: *IG* V 1, 929; Lazzarini 1976, 244 nr. 485; Jeffery 1990, 200 nr. 38; Faklares 1990, 178-183, pl. 93 a). — Laconia, Tyros, sanctuary of Apollo: bull (Athens NM: *IG* V 1, 1518; Lazzarini 1976, 239 nr. 450). — Sparta, sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos: bull (Sparta: Lamb, *BSA* 28, 1926-27, 89; Woodward, *BSA* 30, 1928-30, 252; Lazzarini 1976, 243 nr. 481). — Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia: bull (Sparta 2161: Jeffery 1990, 447 C). — Amyklai (?): bull dedicated to Poseidon (Paris CM: Robert, *Coll. Froehner* I 26 f., pl. 9; Jeffery 1990, 200 nr. 33). — Laconia: goat dedicated to Apollo Hyperteleatas (Paris CM: Robert, *Coll. Froehner* I 26, pl. 9; Jeffery 1990, 200 nr. 35). — Messenia, Hagios Floros, sanctuary of Pamisos: bulls and goats (Valmin 1938, 444 f., pl. 34). — Mantineia, bull dedicated to Acheloos (Copenhagen NM 910: *IG* V 2, 284). — Olympia, bull (*BCH* 103, 1979, 566 fig. 97). — Thebes, Kabeirion: bulls (Schmaltz 1980). — Thessaly, bull (Copenhagen NM 5626).

statuettes from the sanctuary with the bone remains of the actual sacrifices made.[140] Of the identifiable animal bones of the Classical period, roughly 80% are sheep or goat, 15% cattle, and 5% pig.[141] It might be argued that perhaps only people who could afford the sacrifice of an ox would accompany it with the dedication of a bronze statuette, but then again, lead statuettes too are predominantly bulls. It is probably more realistic to assume that many of the animal figurines were dedicated, not as a memento of a sacrificed animal, but as a means to place one's livestock under the care and protection of the god. Alternatively, the bulls from the Kabeirion may be taken to refer, not to the dedicator and his livestock, but to the Dionysiac character of the deity.[142]

A comparable ambiguity is present in the votive statues and statuettes of men carrying animals. The approximately life size marble statue of Rhombos as calf-bearer (c. 575/550 B.C.), found on the Athenian Akropolis, is usually, and probably rightly, taken as a depiction of the worshipper devoutly bringing his sacrificial animal to the sanctuary.[143] So is the twice life size ram-bearer from Thasos (c. 600 B.C.).[144] From Arcadian sanctuaries we have a number of charming bronze statuettes, mostly late Archaic, which, on a very much smaller scale, show the same theme of a man carrying an animal.[145] Usually it is a lamb or young sheep, in one

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[140] Schmaltz 1980; Schachter 1986, 66-110.

[141] See Jameson, in: Whittaker 1988, 90. We have a record of a very large Boiotian herd from Orchomenos in the inscription *IG* VII 3137 (3rd century B.C.): a certain Euboulos was granted pasturage for 220 large animals (cattle and horses: βούεσσι σοὺν ἵππυς) and 1000 small animals (sheep and goat: προβάτυς σοὺν ἤγυς); but here again cattle ar far less numerous than sheep.

[142] Thus Schmaltz 1980, 161.

[143] Athens AkrM 624, Richter 1960, 77; Brouskari 1974, 40 nr. 624, fig. 57-58. Boardman 1978, fig. 112.

[144] Thasos: Richter 1960, 51 nr. 14; Boardman 1978, fig. 69.

[145] Lamb, *BSA* 27 (1925/26) 133-148; Jost, *BCH* 99 (1975) 339-364; Jost 1985. Some examples: Arcadia, Mount Lykaion: Athens NM 13053, Lamb, *BSA* 27 (1925/26) 138 nr. 8, pl. 24. Berlin 10780, Neugebauer 1931, 72 nr. 172, pl. 26 (the offering he carried in his left hand is lost). Berlin 10781, Neugebauer 1931, 68 nr 166, pl. 24. Berlin 10782, Neugebauer 1931, 69 nr. 167, pl. 24. Berlin 10783, Neugebauer 1931, 70 nr. 168, pl. 26. — From Crete: Berlin 7477, Neugebauer 1931, 61 nr. 158, pl. 19. — Exact provenance unknown: Athens, Coll. Stathatos, Kunze, *BWPr* 109 (1953) 6 ff nr. I, pl. 1-3. Baltimore WAG 54.2323, Hill, *JWaltersArtGal* 11 (1948) 19 ff, fig. 1-2. Boston 04.6, Comstock & Vermeule 1971, nr. 22. New York MMA 45.162, Richter, *BulMMA* 4

instance a perky goat. The men often wear the typical shepherd's costume. In one case, a dedication of a certain Aineas to Pan according to the inscription, the shepherd carries a mug or leather pail in both hands (presumably containing milk), in addition to the lamb comfortably tucked under his left arm.[146] Shepherds bringing offerings to the deity protecting their flocks, is what these statuettes would seem to represent. But in some of the statuettes the bearer of the animal is characterized by his attributes as Hermes, the protecting deity himself, depicted as a shepherd.[147] It is therefore conceivable that the shepherds carrying animals were not necessarily all meant as bringing those animals for sacrifice. Some might also have been intended just as a depiction of the dedicator himself at his daily work, which is a suitable form for an *aparché* taken from the yield of that work.[148] That interpretation would also better fit the small bronze figurine of a shepherd milking.[149]

Terracotta figurines of women carrying a small sucking-pig were especially popular in sanctuaries of Sicily, though not restricted to that region.[150] Several were found, for instance, in the Heraion (?) at Tiryns,[151]

(1945-46) 249 ff. Paris CM 313, Babelon & Blanchet 1895, nr. 313; Boardman *et al.* 1966, 127, pl. 157. — Carrying a goat: Private collection, Chittenden & Seltman 1946, 33 nr. 128, pl. 32. — Animal (pig??) standing beside man: Delphi 6571, Amandry, *BCH* 62 (1938) 316 nr. 23, pl. 35, 1 a-c. — Man holding bowl with offerings, no animal, from Mount Lykaion: Athens NM 13061, Stais 1910, 314. — Man carrying fox, from Mount Lykaion: Berlin 10784, Neugebauer 1931, 70 nr. 169, pl. 25. (Cf. the bronze figurine of a dead fox hung by the forepaws, from Mount Lykaion, Athens NM 13054, Stais 1910, 317; Lamb 1929, pl. 31 d).

[146] New York MMA 43.11.3, Richter, *AJA* 48 (1944) 5 f. fig. 11-15; Lazzarini 1976, 226 nr. 359; Jeffery 1990, 210 nr. 8.

[147] E.g. Athens NM 12347, Perdrizet, *BCH* 27 (1903) 300 ff. pl. VII. Berlin 30552, Neugebauer 1931, 67 nr. 165, pl. 23. Boston MFA 99.489, Comstock & Vermeule 1971, nr. 23. See Siebert, Hermes, *LIMC* V (1990) 1-192, esp. nrs. 260-297: "Hermes criophore". On the status of the ram bearers see also Lebessi, in: *Fests. Himmelmann* (1989) 59-64.

[148] See Van Straten, in: Versnel (ed.) 1981, 92 ff.

[149] Athens Benaki Mus. 8057: Walter, *AA* 1940, 137 ff. fig. 11-12; *SEG* XI 892; Lazzarini 1976, 239 nr. 449; Faklares 1990, 174-5, pl. 76 a-b. The inscription suggests that it comes from the sanctuary of Apollo in Laconian Tyros. — For milk offerings see Wyss 1915; Hoepfner & Neumeyer 1979, nr. 60; *Ant. Pal.* VI 35.

[150] Sguaitamatti, 1984; Biguasca, *AntK* 35 (1992) 18-53; cf. Kron, *AA* 1992, 611-650.

[151] *Tiryns* I (1912) 73-75 nr. 61, 84 and 85; 77-79 nr. 99-113; pl. IX, XI and XII. Jantzen (ed.) 1975, 170-174.

others at Eleusis, Piraeus, Megara, Corinth, Tegea, Tanagra, Rhodos (Lindos), Halikarnassos, Iasos, Corfu.[152] Since these terracottas always represent women, they may refer more precisely to female worshippers taking part in some Thesmophoria-like ritual.[153]

From the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis come some statuettes depicting a male initiate with mystic piglet and bákchos.[154]

2.2.2. *Pinakes of wood and terracotta*

The many painted wooden pinakes, which, being relatively inexpensive votive offerings, were extremely popular in ancient Greece, have almost all perished due to the nature of the material.[155] Owing to exceptional circumstances, some have been found reasonably intact in a cave at Pitsá near Sikyon. One has a sacrificial representation (Fig. 56).[156] Inscriptions give the names of the dedicants, the recipient goddesses (the Nymphs), and the signature of the Corinthian painter. On the right is depicted a blood-stained altar (the goddesses themselves are not shown). From the left approach a woman carrying a tray on her head containing a box and two conical oinochoai, and holding an oinochoe in her right hand; a boy leading a sheep by a rope tied to its head; two musicians playing lyre and

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[152] Winter I (1903) 92, 3, 5-7; 93, 3; 101, 4-5; 157, 5-6. Blinkenberg 1931, nr. 3030-3036; Mollard-Besques 1954, nr. C 25, C 37, C 99; Higgins 1954, nr. 385, 454-457, 497, 998; Levi, *ASAtene* 45-46 (1967-68) 569 ff. fig. 44 a-b; Bookidis & Fisher, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 316 f.; Bookidis & Stroud 1987, 15 fig. 13.

[153] On piglets and Thesmophoria, see Deubner 1932, 50 ff.; Nilsson 1967, 463 ff.; Dahl 1967; Versnel 1993, 235-260. Cf. also the terracotta pigs from the Thesmophorion of Thasos, which have their bellies slit, exposing the entrails: Rolley, *BCH* 89 (1965) 470 fig. 30-31. — It should be noted, however, that the terracotta women carrying piglets are by no means restricted to sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore; they are also found in sanctuaries of Hera (? Tiryns), Artemis (Corfu), Athena (Lindos).

[154] Marble statuettes: Eleusis: Kourouniotes, *ADelt* 8 (1923) 166 fig. 9; Eleusis 5052: Kourouniotes, *ibid.* 163 fig. 6; Kanta 1979, 70; Eleusis 5162: Kourouniotes, *ibid.* 165 fig. 8. Terracotta figurine: Eleusis: Winter I (1903) 92/4. On the χοῖρος μυστικός see Introduction 1.2. Cf. also the fragmentary statues found on the Quirinal in Rome: Esdaile, *JHS* 29 (1909) 1-4, pl. I; Helbig ⁴II 1503 (Von Steuben); Ridgway 1970, 68 and 75; Clinton 1974, 98 ff., 101 ff., fig. 5-10.

[155] Popularity of wooden votive pinakes: Van Straten, in: Versnel (ed.) 1981, 78-9. See also Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 773-775; Aineias the Tactician 31, 15.

[156] Athens NM: Orlandos, *EAA* VI s.v. "Pitsa"; Lorber 1979, 93 nr. 154 A, pl. 46; Amyx, *CVP* II 394-5, 604-5.

pipes; and finally three women holding sprigs. The pinax has been dated to c. 540/520 B.C., which is later than the vase paintings which show very similar *kanephóroi* (see above). Still, it is probably correct to take the Pitsá pinax as one accidental survivor of a whole series of similar pinakes, starting much earlier, and to take the vase paintings with sacrificial scenes as imitating votive pictures, rather than the other way round.

Terracotta votive plaques are not as vulnerable to the Greek climate, and indeed many have survived.[157] They may have either a painted representation, or a relief (usually produced with a mould). The relief representations are often painted as well. The terracotta votive pinakes that have come down to us, are remarkably poor in sacrificial scenes. A relief plaque from Olynthos, dated to c. 400 B.C., has an interesting one.[158] It shows, on the left, a herm in frontal view, with a kerykeion on its shaft. On the right is a man, also in near frontal view, leading a sheep with his right hand and holding a kanoûn in his left hand. There is another kerykeion on the far right, and two skulls are hung above: one perhaps a goat's skull; the other, certainly bovine, is adorned with fillets. The pinax is of modest dimensions (height 17 cm), and has two suspension holes in the top centre. In view of its find-spot, it may well refer to domestic cult, which the herm would be compatible with.

2.2.3. *Votive reliefs in stone*

Votive reliefs in stone (mostly marble) form the largest single class of material with sacrificial representations. It should be noted, however, that among the whole class of votive reliefs, the ones with depictions of sacrifice, to be studied in this section, are only a minority.

There are some Archaic Greek votive reliefs, but by far the most date from the Classical period, and, as far as we can tell (for in too many cases we do not know the exact provenance), many come from Attika. The rich flow of votive reliefs produced in Athens from the later fifth through the fourth century dries up almost entirely around 300 B.C. Why this should have happened is not quite clear. It is not part of a general decline in votive offerings: in the Athenian Asklepieion, where the once plentiful

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[157] See Van Straten, in: *Le sanctuaire grec* (*Entretiens Hardt* 37, 1992) 250-252.

[158] Thessalonike VII 374: Robinson, *Olynthus* VII (1933) 94 nr. 374, pl. 47.

votive reliefs are no longer found after c. 300, other types of ex-votos are still recorded in impressive numbers in the inventories of the sanctuary.[159] There may be a connection between the discontinuation of the production of votive reliefs, and the prohibition of grave reliefs by Demetrios of Phaleron in 317/6 or shortly afterwards.[160] We might imagine votive reliefs to have been produced as a sort of sideline by workshops whose main income depended on the sale of grave reliefs. When these were no longer in demand, the bottom fell out of their business and then within one generation Attic votive reliefs practically came to an end as well.[161] Hereafter in Greece proper votive reliefs are deplorably thin on the ground.

A votive relief from the sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron, admittedly above average in quality, may serve to introduce the most common components of such a relief in the Classical period [Fig. 57, R73: Brauron 1151]. It is of the usual rectangular shape, wider than high and wide enough to accommodate all the figures, divine and human, that the dedicator wanted represented. According to the inscription on the architrave, the relief was set up in accordance with a prayer by Aristonike, wife of Antiphates from the deme Thorai. The goddess, Artemis, stands on the right. She is easily identifiable by the bow she holds in her left hand, and the deer at her side. In front of the goddess is an altar, and on the other side of it, facing the goddess, are the worshippers. In this instance, Aristonike has brought an extensive family, including children of various ages. In front of the family procession there is a bovine sacrificial victim, restrained at the altar by a servant who holds the kanoûn in his left hand. In the rear a maid is carrying a cylindrical basket on her head. The goddess is much taller than her worshippers, but all figures are standing on the same level, close together, sharing one architecturally framed space.

Votive reliefs may have a simpler frame or none at all, but in the fourth century they often have such an architectural frame consisting of a bottom ledge, two antae, and an architrave topped by something like the lateral edge of a tiled roof (the antae seem to occur from c. 420 B.C., the complete architectural frame somewhat later). This conventional frame has

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[159] Aleshire 1989.

[160] Johansen, 1951, 13; Eckstein, *JdI* 73 (1958) 18-29. Cicero, *De legibus* 2, 59 ff.

[161] The re-emergence and increase in production of Attic grave reliefs (and votive reliefs) in the late 5th century B.C. may be explained along similar lines, see e.g. Robertson, 1975, 364 f.

been variously interpreted as a reflection either of temple architecture, or of the stoa which formed part of so many sanctuaries.[162] It is obvious, however, that it is not an unmistakeable and exact representation of any real building, and in general, I think, we should rather take it as an indication that the scene depicted was set within the architecturally defined space of the sanctuary.

In Aristonike's relief, the deity is on the right and the worshippers are on the left. There is no hard and fast rule about this, and the worshippers may just as well be on the right and the deity on the left. Normally the deity is appreciably taller than the human worshippers. Most of the worshippers have their right hand raised in adoration.

The male attendant, holding the kanoûn and leading or driving the victim, is already familiar from vase paintings. The female kanephóros, carrying the kanoûn on her head and heading a festive procession, does not occur on Classical votive reliefs.[163] This no doubt is due to the fact that these votive reliefs are on the whole private dedications, commemorating private sacrifices, not public festivals. Another difference from vase paintings, however, is less easily explained. In votive reliefs the male servant with the kanoûn never holds the chérnips (with one possible exception, to be discussed later on). When the worshippers are pictured as on their way to or arriving at the sanctuary, the time of the chérnips has not yet arrived, and its absence need not surprise us. But we shall see that several votive reliefs depict the preliminary rites at the altar (things are taken from the kanoûn and put on the altar), and in that context we would expect the chérnips to be present, on the strength of what we have seen in the vase paintings.

On the other hand, the female attendant with the cylindrical basket on her head, who brings up the rear of the group of worshippers, we have not encountered in vase paintings. On votive reliefs she occurs regularly. The basket, which can sometimes be seen to be covered with a cloth and in other instances may be assumed to have a slip-on lid, is a kíste.[164] Its use is well illustrated in a passage from Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae,* where a slave girl who accompanies her mistress to a religious ceremony is addressed as follows: "Thratta, take the kíste down (from your head), and then take out the sacrificial cake; give it to me so that I may sacrifice

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[162] Neumann 1979, 51.

[163] There is one exception, from Olbia [R114: Olbia].

[164] Amyx, *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 268-271.

it to the two goddesses."[165] The things that were needed for the sacrifice in addition to the animal, such as sacrificial cakes or loaves, could be prepared at home and brought to the sanctuary in this kíste. From a fourth century inscription from the Asklepieion in Epidauros it follows that there was a choice: people could either bring the necessary things from home, or buy them at a fixed price in the sanctuary.[166]

The kíste was not in itself a ritual implement; it could also be put to a more profane use. The same word kíste was also used for a different type of basket, of an approximately hemispherical shape and with strings attached to it by which it could be carried or suspended. When one was invited to a banquet, one would often bring some food in such a container.[167]

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[165] Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 284-5:

Θρᾶττα, τὴν κίστην κάθελε, κᾆτ' ἔξελε
τὸ πόπανον, ὅπως λαβοῦσα θύσω τοῖν θεοῖν.

The "mistress" is in fact Euripides' elderly male relative dressed up as one.

[166] *LSS* 22: ὁ ἰαρεὺς ὁ παρ' Ἀσκλαπιῶι παρ[ε]χέτω τοῖς προθυομένοις πά[ντ]α ὅσων δεῖ ἐπὶ τᾶι προθύσι ὅσ[α] | κα μὴ ἴκωντι ἔχοντες· λαμ[βαν]όντω δὲ τούτων τριώδε[λον], | ὀλᾶν δὲ καὶ στέμματος [ἡμι]ωδέλιον, σχιζᾶν δὲ ἐπὶ [τοῖς] | ἀπαλίοις ἡμιωδέλιον, [ἐπὶ δὲ] | τοῖς τελέοις ὀδελόν. [- - -].

[167] Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnenses* 1085 ff.:

ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ταχὺ
βάδιζε τὴν κίστην λαβὼν καὶ τὸν χοᾶ, *κ.τ.λ.*.

Scholion (vetus) ad 1086a: βάδιζε τὴν κίστην λαβών· τότε γὰρ οἱ καλοῦντες ἐπὶ δεῖπνον στεφάνους καὶ μύρα καὶ τραγήματα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα παρετίθεσαν, οἱ δὲ καλούμενοι ἔφερον ἐψήματα <καὶ κίστην καὶ χοᾶ>. "κίστην" δὲ τὴν ὀψοθήκην. See also *Vespae* 1250 ff. and scholion ad 1251.

In vase paintings of symposia such food baskets are often depicted in the field (hanging on a wall, as it were) or suspended from a table; some examples: Cambridge Corpus Christi, Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 402/12: Foundry Ptr; *JHS* 41 (1921) 224, pl. 15-16; Peschel 1987, nr. 64; Beazley, in: *Adunanze straordinarie per il conferimento dei premi d. Fond. A. Feltrinelli* (1966) 53-60, pl. 9-10. — Copenhagen NM 3880, Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 373/36; Paralip 372/11 ter: Dokimasia Ptr; *CVA* 3, pl. 141-2; *Cité* fig. 229; Breitenstein, *GV* pl. 38-42. — London BM E 71, Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 372/29: Brygos Ptr; *AZ* 1870, pl. 39; Wegner 1973, pl. 1; Peschel 1987, nr. 117; Rasmussen & Spivey (eds.) 1991, 108 fig. 43. — London BM 95.5-13.1, Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 405/2: might be by the Foundry Ptr; Licht 1925-28, II 131; Peschel 1987, nr. 119. — Malibu JPGM 82.AE.121, Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 413/12: Dokimasia Ptr; Knauer, in: *Gr. vases JPGM* 3 (1986) 91-100, fig. 3. — New Haven, Con., Yale Art Gal. 163, Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 36: Gales Ptr or near him; Licht 1925-28, II 47; Peschel 1987, nr. 48; Kilmer 1993, R 82. — New York MMA 20.246, Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 467/118: Makron; Richter & Hall 1936, nr. 53, pl. 50, 53-4, 180; *MetMusJ* 11 (1976) 74 fig. 7; *RA* 1982, 70 fig. 11; *BullMetr* 42 (1984) 2, 9; *RM* 92 (1985) pl. 19, 1; Peschel 1987, nr. 56; Kilmer 1993, R 622.2. — Orvieto Faina 37, Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 372/33: Brygos Ptr; Hartwig 1893, pl. 36, 1-3; Peschel 1987,

In the following survey, the more interesting votive reliefs with sacrificial representations will be arranged according to recipient deity, and, as far as possible, sanctuary of provenance. As will appear, the identification of the deity in some cases is far from certain. Obviously, there was no special need for the manufacturer of a votive relief to make the deity easily identifiable by attributes, since his identity would be immediately clear anyway from the place were the relief was set up.

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nr. 118. — Oxford AM 1965.127, Att. rf. stamnos, *ARV*² 258/21, *Paralip* 351: Copenhagen Ptr; Pilippaki 1964, pl. 32; Vickers, *Gr. Symp.* fig. 8; Lissarrague 1987, 29 fig. 11. Food basket carried by revellers or their servants, on their way to, or, more often, returning from a symposion: Athens NM (Coll. Vlastos-Serpieri), Att. rf. chous; Van Hoorn 1951, 98 nr. 274, fig. 243; Green, *BSA* 66 (1971) 201, 8. — Berlin inv. 3198, Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 402/13: Foundry Ptr; *AA* 1892, 101-2; Licht 1925-28, II 205; Beazley, in: *Adunanze straordinarie per il conferimento dei premi d. Fond. A. Feltrinelli* (1966) 53-60, pl. 11-12; Kilmer 1993, R 528.1. — Erlangen Univ. I 870 (Pr 20), Att. rf. kylix; *ARV*² 325/80: Onesimos; Schauenburg, *RM* 81 (1974) 313-6, pl. 176, 1-2. — Copenhagen Thorv. Mus. 115, Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 455/2: Thorvaldsen Group; Melander 1984, 55 ff. fig. 31 en 33. — Saint Petersburg 1816 (680, St 407), Att. rf. rhyton (donkey's head), *ARV*² 382/191: Brygos Ptr; *CR* 1881, 5, 49, 60 and title page; Hoffmann 1962, 10/11, pl. 3, 3-4; Peredolskaya 1967, pl. 49. —Saint Petersburg 2110 (B 651), Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 325/77: Onesimos; Vickers, Gr. Symp. fig. 21; Peredolskaya 1967, 65 nr. 66, pl. 45; Peschel 1987, nr. 121. — Malibu JPGM 86.AE.237, Att. rf. chous, Oionokles Ptr (?); Knauer, in: *Gr. Vases JPGM* 3 (1986) 91-100, fig. 1 a-g. — Munich 2424, Att. rf. hydria (kalpis), *ARV*² 193 en 1633: near Euthymides; *CVA* 5, pl. 227, 1; 228, 1; 234, 1; *Veder Greco* (1988) 108 nr. 10. — Paris Louvre G 313, Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 377/106: Brygos Ptr; Pottier 3, pl. 135. — Kings Point, N.Y., Coll. Schimmel, Att. rf. kylix, *Paralip* 362: Antiphon Ptr; Muscarella (ed.) 1974, nr. 61. — Taranto 4591, Att. bf. skyphos; Lo Porto, *AttiMGrecia* 1967, 55 nr. 9, pl. 17 c-d, 18 c; Himmelmann, *AbhMainz* 1971, 21 fig. 19. — Würzburg MvWM L 479, Att. rf. kylix, *ARV*² 372/32: Brygos Ptr; FR pl. 50; Hoppin I 121; Pfuhl fig. 421-3; Langlotz pl. 145-9; 164; Simon (ed.) 1975, 129, pl. 34-5; Simon & Hirmer pl. 154-6, XXXVII; Peschel 1987, nr. 128-9; Kilmer 1993, R 519.

Carried by a dog: Syracuse 2287, Att. bf. lekythos, *ABL* 206/10, pl. 24, 2: Gela Ptr.

It is amusing to see the food basket, which is so inextricably bound up with ancient Athenian symposion etiquette, intrude on mythical symposion scenes with Dionysos and Herakles: Pregny, Coll. E. de Rothschild, Att. bf. hydria, *ABV* 268/30: Antimenes Ptr; Burow 1989, 86/60, pl. 60. — Tarquinia RC 1635, Att. bf. neck-amph., *ABV* 270/65: Antimenes Ptr; *CVA* 1, pl. 11, 1; 12, 1; Burow 1989, 82/24, pl. 26.

Asklepios

Votive reliefs to Asklepios are more numerous than those of any other deity.[168] Of these many come from the Athenian Asklepieion. Since most of the more common variants are present among the Asklepios reliefs, it seems practical to begin with these.

Epidauros[169]

The most famous Asklepieion at Epidauros has yielded very few votive reliefs, and only one with a depiction of sacrifice. The relief in question was at an art dealer's in Amsterdam in 1925 [Fig. 58, R33: Art market], and its provenance can be established beyond doubt because it is clearly identical with the one seen in Epidauros by Le Bas in the eighteen-forties.[170] It shows Asklepios with snake-entwined staff, and Hygieia, standing to the right of and partly behind an altar. On the left is a family consisting of man, woman and child. The woman has drawn a slip of her himation over the back of her head. Women do this quite often on votive reliefs, but it is by no means a general phenomenon; clearly there was no rule prescribing that women should visit a sanctuary only *capite velato.* Behind the couple is a maid carrying a substantial kíste. In front of the man, between him and the altar, there is very little room left for the servant with the victim, so he is rather pushed into the background, but the head of the sacrificial pig protrudes from behind the man's legs on the near side of the altar, and the kanoûn is held in full view above it.

Athens and Piraeus

The Asklepieion of Athens, on the south slope of the Akropolis, was founded in 420/419 B.C. According to the inscription on the monument of the founder, Telemachos of Acharnai, Asklepios came to Athens from Piraeus, so the Piraeus sanctuary must have preceded the Athenian one.[171]

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[168] Hausmann 1948, 164 ff., has a list of more than 200 reliefs (including reliefs of some other healing deities).

[169] Burford 1969; Tomlinson 1983.

[170] Le Bas, mon. fig. 104.

[171] Asklepieion Athens: Travlos 1971, 127-142; Martin & Metzger 1976, 81-84; Aleshire 1989; Aleshire 1991. — Telemachos' monument: Beschi, *ASAtene* 45-46 (1967-68) 381-436; Idem, *AAA* 15 (1982) 31-43. — Asklepieion Piraeus: Travlos 1988, 340-363; Garland 1987, 115-117. Information about the find circumstances of the reliefs from

One of the largest votive reliefs from the Athenian Asklepieion, dating from the middle or second half of the fourth century B.C., measures c. 80 cm in height, and its original width (the left part is missing) may be estimated at c. 140 cm [Fig. 59, R8: Athens NM 1333]. Of the gods, on the left, the seated Asklepios is only partly preserved; Hygieia stands next to him, leaning against a tree trunk with her left hand. At the foot of the tree is an altar, and to the right of it a family of worshippers consisting of a man, a woman (slip of her himation drawn over the back of her head), a girl, another man and a small child. On the far right is the maid carrying a large kíste covered with a cloth. On the left, preceding the couple, is the male servant with the sacrificial sheep at the altar. On the altar the fire, and probably the firewood, has been rendered in relief: it is a somewhat amorphous heap, to which some clarifying details may have been added in paint.[172] The servant leading the victim usually holds the kanoûn in his free hand (in many cases, if the relief is not too damaged, the three projecting handles of the kanoûn are clearly indicated). Here, however, he holds a distinctly different vessel in his left hand: it is a hemispherical bowl. It is just possible that the chérnips is meant, though that is not normally depicted on votive reliefs. If one were to continue in this slightly overinterpretative vein for a moment, one might even see in the strong forward movement of victim and attendant along the near side of the altar, as indicated by their attitude, a reference to the ritual walking round the altar. On a fragmentary relief [Fig. 60, R217: Athens NM 1436], this walking round the altar is perhaps more convincingly suggested by the energetic gesture of the attendant's right arm, and by the fact that the altar and the sheep are set at an angle to the background.

As far as size goes, a relief from Piraeus with a height of 24 cm and a width of 30 cm is near the other end of the range [Fig. 61, R27: Athens NM 1407], though there are yet smaller marble votive reliefs. Apparently the workshops catered for people of all sorts of means. In the small compass of the relief all essential elements are present. On the right of the altar Asklepios stands, leaning on his staff. He is accompanied by an enormous snake. Asklepios is often represented with snakes; snakes lived in his sanctuaries and sometimes took an active part in the healing of the

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Athens is scanty, for the Piraeus it is virtually non-existent.

[172] For painting on votive reliefs see Karusu, in: *Stud. P.H. von Blanckenhagen* (1979) 111-116; and more generally: Reuterswärd 1960.

patients who spent the night there.[173] Normally, however, they are depicted on a more realistic scale. A snake of the size shown in this relief can only have existed in the imagination, or dreams, of a devout worshipper. In the slave Karion's report of the incubation of Ploutos in the Piraeus Asklepieion, as given in Aristophanes' comedy, Asklepios is followed by two huge snakes.[174]

The family of worshippers in our relief comprises three adults, a woman between two men, and a female child. There is no maid with kíste. The sacrificial victim is a sheep led by a small servant with kanoûn. We should not take the size of this attendant as an indication of his age. In this case he is about half the size of the adult man (and we shall come to other instances where he is much smaller yet), which would make him far too young to handle a sheep with any confidence. His small size is only indicative of his lack of importance. He is only there as an inevitable extension of the things that are essential to the sacrifice: the animal and the sacrificial implement.

On a votive relief from the Asklepieion in Athens, we have a different sacrificial animal: a pig [Fig. 62, R6: Athens NM 1330]. It is led by the familiar figure of the attendant (in loin-cloth) holding the kanoûn, and they stand on the near side of an altar which is vaguely visible in the background. The relief is broken on the right and consequently of the worshippers only a man and one arm of a second figure remain. On the left Asklepios is seated on a throne, with a snake coiled underneath, and Hygieia stands at his side, leaning against a votive disk set on a tall pillar. Such pillars supporting votive offerings were a common sight in sanctuaries, and they are not infrequently depicted on votive reliefs, as a sort of general indication of the sacred surroundings.[175]

A very similar group of a seated Asklepios with Hygieia leaning against a votive disk on a pillar recurs on a relief in the Louvre [Fig. 63, R23: Paris Louvre 755]. It is reported to have come from Athens, so it probably once stood in the Athenian Asklepieion. It is unusually well

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[173] Küster 1913, 133 ff.; Herzog 1931, 86 ff. For healing snakes in modern Greece (Kephallinia), see: Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich 1954, 102 ff.; Gittenberger & Hoogmoed, *Salamandra* 21 (1985) 1, 90-94.

[174] Aristophanes, *Plutus* 732-4:

εἶθ' ὁ θεὸς ἐπόππυσεν.
ἐξηξάτην οὖν δύο δράκοντ' ἐκ τοῦ νεὼ
ὑπερφυεῖ τὸ μέγεθος.

[175] Van Straten, in: *Le sanctuaire grec* (1992) 254 ff.

preserved. At the rather large altar the preparations for the sacrifice have advanced a little further than in the previous reliefs. A bearded man puts something on the altar, which he must have taken from the kanoûn presented to him by a naked youth standing beside him. It is impossible to see what it is he places on the altar, but from what we have learned so far we may assume that it is a handful of barley corns (olaí). On the far side of the altar stands a second attendant, in an *exomís* (tunic leaving one shoulder bare), holding the bovine victim. Further to the right are there two women, paying more attention to the child standing in front of them than to the sacrifice, and a third woman or maid carrying a baby on her arm.

On another relief from the Athenian sanctuary, we again see the sacrificer in the act of putting something onto the altar [Fig. 64, R9: Athens NM 1334]. The victim in this case is a pig, led by a servant in exomís. Since an animal of this smaller size would become invisible if it were placed on the far side of the altar, like the bull in the previous relief, it is here put in the foreground, on the near side of the other worshippers. Asklepios and Hygieia are both standing, Asklepios leaning on the snake-entwined staff which was to become the emblem of his art in centuries to come. The family of worshippers here only comprises the man at the altar and two children (probably girls).

From the few reliefs we have seen so far, it has already become clear that, although these reliefs are composed of a limited number of more or less fixed elements, there is a remarkable variation in details. The group of deities is varied in its composition and in the rendering of its individual members. But even more striking is the variety in the composition of the worshipping families. This last observation in particular proves beyond reasonable doubt that these votive reliefs were made to order, not bought from stock.

An extensive family is represented on a votive relief from Piraeus, probably from the Asklepieion there [Fig. 65, R28: Athens NM 1429]. The left half, on which the gods must have been depicted, is missing. As in the Louvre relief, an attendant holding the bovine victim stands in the background, on the far side of the altar. On the right is a bearded man putting something on the altar; he is accompanied by a woman. They are followed by three couples of a man and a girl, and two men each with a woman at his side. This large group makes the relief very crowded: the last couple on the extreme right overlaps the right anta. As a result the maid carrying the kíste had to be shoved into the background, where she is almost totally obscured by the worshippers, except for the large kíste

itself, which is prominently displayed above their heads. The kíste, containing part of the offerings, was considered indispensable; the maid was not.

The next relief was found in Kynouria in the eastern part of the Peloponnesos, on the site of the estate of Herodes Atticus [Fig. 66, R19: Athens NM 1402]. It is clearly Attic, and may be dated to the second quarter of the fourth century B.C. In all likelihood Herodes had this relief, and some other ones, brought to his estate from the Athenian Asklepieion.[176] This is again a very crowded relief, for now Asklepios also has brought his family. In addition to the god himself we have a goddess (probably Hygieia), Asklepios' two sons Machaon and Podaleirios, and his three daughters Iaso, Akeso and Panakeia. Together they take up two thirds of the relief on the right. The family of worshippers, on the left, consists of two men, one woman and two children. The head of the sacrificial pig can be seen protruding from behind the legs of the foremost worshipper, but no room could be found for a attendant leading it, or for the altar. The kíste is seen in the top left corner, but the maid carrying it is again as good as invisible behind the worshippers. There is, however, in this case an additional female servant, on the far left overlapping the anta. She can be identified as a slave girl by her hair style, dress, and the box she holds in her hands. On Classical grave reliefs women are often accompanied by similar handmaidens (e.g. on the well known Hegeso stele[177]). There as here their primary purpose probably is to serve as status indicator.

One peculiar votive relief from the Asklepieion in Athens has a unique shape [Fig. 67, R18: Athens NM 1377]. The monument, which was carved out of a single block of marble, consists of a relief depicting the usual procession of worshippers in an architectural frame (four couples, two with a child each, male servant with kanoûn and pig, maid with kíste), and, attached to it at right angles on the left, a higher naiskos containing the deities (Epione seated on a chair with a goose underneath,[178] Asklepios and Hygieia standing). It seems that the sculptor has taken the conventional architectural frame and developed it into a more lifelike rendering of the architecture of the Asklepieion. On the short sides of the relief, he

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[176] See Karusu, *RM* 76 (1969) 263 f.; Faklares 1990, 96-104 and 192-193.

[177] Athens NM 3624: Conze nr. 68, pl. 30; Diepolder 1931, 27, pl. 20; Johansen 1951, 19 fig. 5.

[178] The goose of Epione: Svoronos p. 296 f.

carved a Hekateion (on the left) and a herm (on the right), indicating, as it were, the boundaries of the sanctuary.[179]

In a special class of votive reliefs, typical of healing deities, the patient is represented sleeping in the *enkoimetérion* and being visited by the god.[180] In one instance this motif is combined with that of the grateful

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[179] See above 2.1.1: Sacrifices at herms.

[180] Hausmann 1948, ch. II; Van Straten, *Hermeneus* 55 (1983) 181-195. An updated list:
(I) From the Asklepieion in Athens (or probably): (a) Athens AkrM 2452, Walter 1923, 145 f. nr. 311; Hausmann 1948, 170 nr. 52. (b) Athens AkrM 3005, Walter 1923, 49 nr. 79; Hausmann 1948, 169 nr. 38. (c) Athens NM 1841, Svoronos pl. 133; Sudhoff, *Archiv Gesch. Medizin* 18 (1926) 237, pl. 11, 4; Hausmann 1948, 178 nr. 151; Lippold 1950, 246; Mitropoulou, *Corpus* I (1977) nr. 143; *IG* II² 4482. (d) Athens NM 2373, Kastriotes, *AEphem* 1917, 227; Sudhoff 1926, 240, pl. 11, 6; Hausmann 1948, 166 nr. 2. (e) Athens NM 2441, Svoronos pl. 156; Ziehen, *AM* 17 (1892) 232 fig. 3; Holländer 1912, 122 fig. 56; Sudhoff 1926, 245, pl. 12, 12; *IG* II² 4418/19; Hausmann 1948, 170 nr. 57. (f) Athens NM 2455 + 2475, Beschi, *ArchCl* 21 (1969) 216 ff. with older literature on separate fragments. (g) Athens NM 2462, Svoronos pl. 156; Ziehen, *AM* 17 (1892) 234 fig. 4; Sudhoff 1926, 245, pl. 12, 11; Hausmann 1948, 170 nr. 47. (h) Athens NM 2472, Svoronos 644, pl. 154. (i) Athens NM 2488, Svoronos pl. 156; Ziehen, *AM* 17 (1892) 231 fig. 2; Sudhoff 1926, 245, pl. 12, 13; Hausmann 1948, 181 nr. 172. (j) Athens NM 2489, Svoronos pl. 156; Sudhoff 1926, 244, pl. 12, 9; Hausmann 1948, 170 nr. 46. (k) Athens NM 2505, Svoronos pl. 157; Ziehen, *AM* 17 (1892) 231 fig. 1; Sudhoff 1926, 244, pl. 12, 8; Hausmann 1948, 181 nr. 173. (l) Athens NM 2925, Svoronos 655, pl. 186; Hausmann 1948, 166 nr. 6. (m) Cassel 75, Bieber 1915, 37 nr. 75, pl. 33; Hausmann 1948, 174 nr.109.
(II) From Athens, Odos Perikleous: (n) Athens NM 3325, Kastriotis, *AEphem* 1914, 136-8; Mitropoulou, *Kneeling* (1975) 40 nr. 14 fig. 15.
(III) From the Asklepieion in Piraeus (or probably): (o) Piraeus Mus. 405, Süsserott 1938, 103; Hausmann 1948, 166 nr. 1, fig. 1; Hausmann 1960, 58, fig. 28; Mitropoulou, *Corpus* I (1977) nr. 126. (p) Once Piraeus p.c., Ziehen, *AM* 17 (1892) 234 fig. 5; Hausmann 1948, 170 nr. 53.
(IV) From the Amphiareion in Oropos: (q) Athens NM 3369, *AEphem* 1916, 120 fig. 2; Sudhoff 1926, 241, pl. 11, 7; Herzog 1931, 55, 88ff., frontisp.; Hausmann 1948, 169 nr. 31, fig. 2; Hausmann 1960, 19 fig. 8; Petrakos 1968, 122, 133f., pl. 40 a; Van Straten, in: Versnel (ed.) 1981, 124 nr. 16.1; *IG* II² 4394. (r) Oropos (?), Hausmann 1960, 58 fig. 29 (only bottom fragm.); Petrakos 1968, 123 nr. 21, pl. 41 b.
(V) From the Amphiareion in Rhamnous: (s) Athens NM 1397, Svoronos 348, pl. 58; Hausmann 1948, 169 nr. 32; Petrakos, *Prakt* 1976, 57 nr. 35.
(VI) From Chalcidice (?): (t) Copenhagen NCG 233 a, Poulsen, 1951, nr. 233 a; *Billedtavler* tillaeg 1, pl. 4; BrBr 680 a; Herzog 1931, 79; Hausmann 1948, 181 nr. 170; Lippold 1950, 206.
(VII) Unknown provenance: (u) New York MMA 24.97.92, Richter 1954, nr. 67, pl. 55 b; Mitropoulou, *Corpus* I (1977) nr. 66; Van Straten, in: Versnel (ed.) 1981, 100, fig.

family bringing the sacrificial animal [Fig. 68, R30: lost, once Piraeus]. The relief in question once was in private possession in Piraeus, and therefore is assumed to come from the Asklepieion there. It has disappeared since, and all we have now is a rather sketchy drawing. The patient lies on a couch, with his head to the right. Two women are attending to him: the one on the left is small, probably human, the one on the right at the head of the couch is tall and may be one of Asklepios' daughters. A basin stands on the floor in front of the couch. The god himself stands at the foot of the couch, supervising the treatment. On the left are four worshippers, and a servant leading the sacrificial pig.

We may compare this relief with one in Cassel, presumably from the Asklepieion in Athens [R22: Cassel 75].[181] Here the patient was lying on a couch in the left part of the relief, with his head to the right. Most of him is missing now, except part of his head supported by a pillow. Asklepios is seated at the head of the couch, turned towards the patient and apparently treating him. Behind Asklepios, on the right, are the worshippers: a couple and two children. They are accompanied by a maid carrying a kíste. There is, however, no sacrificial animal. It might be supposed that it was left out for lack of space, but that does not seem very probable. If an animal was sacrificed, it was considered an important element, and we have seen that even in crowded reliefs the sculptor would always find a way of showing the victim's snout peeping out from between the worshippers legs. Moreover, there are other reliefs where the worshippers are followed by the maid with kíste, but do not bring a sacrificial animal (e.g. [Fig. 69, R35: Berlin 685]). If we remember that the kíste contained sacrificial cakes, it follows that such reliefs probably refer to occasions on which the god had only been presented with bloodless offerings. We have no reason to assume, that in the Attic Asklepieia of the Classical period animal sacrifice was a *sine qua non* for a patient seeking to be healed or having been cured in the *enkoimetérion*. In Aristophanes' *Plutus,* only cakes are mentioned in this context.[182] And the *prothúmata* listed in a

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43. (v) A relief from Rome (?), 2nd century A.D.: Budapest + Vatican, Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1936-7, nr. 405 pl. 75; Dehn, *JdI* 28 (1913) 399-403; Hekler 1929, 142 ff. nr. 136; Van Straten, in: Versnel (ed.) 1981, 98, fig. 42.

[181] The relief was brought from Athens in 1688 by Hessian troops who had fought the Turks in the service of the Venetians: Bieber 1915, p. II.

[182] Aristophanes, *Plutus* 659-662.

fourth century sacred law from the Asklepieion in Piraeus also only comprise *pópana*.[183]

That cakes are not necessarily equivalent to a poor man's offering follows from a relief from the Athenian Asklepieion [Fig. 70, R10: Athens NM 1335]. It is a relief of good quality and fair size (height 57 cm). Asklepios is seated on the right; Hygieia stands beside him leaning against a tree, with a snake coiled round it, which marks the middle of the scene. At the foot of the tree, in front of the deities, where we would normally expect the altar, is a table: the *hierà trápeza*.[184] At the table stand two men, one of whom is taking something from a kanoûn presented to him by an attendant, probably some more of the cakes of various shapes with which the table is already overloaded. The names of the two men are inscribed on the architrave above them. One of them, Mnesimachos from Acharnai, is known to have been, together with his father, victorious *choregós* for the tribe Oineis c. 350 B.C.[185]

The monument of Telemachos of Acharnai, the founder of the Athenian Asklepieion, is not in the strict sense a votive relief, but it is a unique document of the foundation of the sanctuary, both in reliefs and inscription. It must have been set up in the Asklepieion shortly before or after 400 B.C., and simultaneously or slightly later a replica was made and set up in the same sanctuary. The monument has been painstakingly reconstructed from its *disiecta membra* by Luigi Beschi.[186] It was formed of a pillar supporting a two-sided relief (amphiglyphon). The pillar bore the inscription with the record of the sanctuary's foundation and its first years,[187] and at its top it was decorated with relief panels on its four sides. On one of these panels, though badly damaged, we can still recognize the typical motif of the hero banquet. The hero on the couch is more precisely determined by the presence of a lyre and a theatrical mask. Beschi's

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[183] *LS* 21.

[184] Another table with cakes, only partly preserved: [R12: Athens NM 1346]. Some reliefs where a worshipper is seen putting something on the altar, but lacking a sacrificial animal, may also refer to cake-offerings: e.g. [R14: Athens NM 1368; R16: Athens NM 1372].

[185] Inscription: Νικίας | Ὀῆθεν, Μνησίμαχος | Ἀχαρνεύς. See Aleshire 1991, 158 nr. 10337 and 162 nr. 10817.

[186] Beschi, *ASAtene* 45-6 (1967-8) 381-436; Idem, *AAA* 15 (1982) 31-43.

[187] *IG* II² 4960 a-b + 4961; see Beschi, *ASAtene* 45-6 (1967-8) 412-413.

identification of this figure as the heroized Sophokles-Dexion is convincing.[188]

The two sides of the amphiglyphon, mounted on this pillar, show the interior and the exterior of the newly founded sanctuary. On the side with the exterior there is also, on the right, an indication of the Asklepieion in Piraeus, whence Asklepios had come to Athens. The nature of this Piraeus sanctuary is suggested, among other things, by a small representation of a votive relief on a pillar, and enough of this miniature votive relief remains for us to recognize the theme. It is an incubation scene: a patient lying on a couch in the *enkoimetérion* is visited by the healing god. There is also a dog at the foot of the pillar, and some waves and part of a ship indicating the sea. The relief on the other side shows a single male worshipper on the left (Telemachos himself, no doubt), and on the right the interior of the newly founded temple. Inside the temple Asklepios stands on the right and Hygieia is seated on the left, on a *hierà trápeza*, underneath which lies a dog similar to the one depicted in the Piraeus sanctuary on the other side.[189] A couple of surgical instruments hang on the wall between Hygieia and Asklepios. They are a forceps, which may be compared to the καρκίνοι ἰατρικοί mentioned in an inventory of ex-votos in the Asklepieion in Piraeus,[190] and a cupping instrument (σικύη).[191]

The *trápeza* on which Hygieia sits is set on a platform decorated with a relief frieze, which has its counterpart on the opposite side of the double-relief, where it depicts a multiple sacrifice of three animals: one bovine, one smaller one (possibly a sheep) and one probably a pig. In view of the place where it is depicted, this *tríttoia bóarchos* is best taken as the foundation sacrifice of the Asklepieion.

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[188] Aleshire 1989, 10 note 4, thinks Beschi's identification weak. But what other hero, connected with the foundation of the Athenian Asklepieion, would have a rightful claim to these attributes?

[189] Is it too fanciful to imagine, that one of the dogs, which were strikingly prominent in the Asklepieion of Piraeus (cf. *LS* 21), in the late summer of 420/19 B.C. followed a kindly Athenian visitor home, and was thus instrumental in causing the foundation of the Asklepieion ἐν ἄστει? Such a supposition would seem to tally well with the Telemachos inscription, according to which Asklepios first came to the city from Piraeus of his own accord, and only then Telemachos set into motion the usual procedure of consulting an oracle, having a snake brought from the sanctuary at Epidauros, etc. On Asklepios' introduction see also Garland 1992, 116-135.

[190] *IG* II² 47.

[191] See Berger 1970, 63 ff.

Patrai?

A fourth century votive relief to Asklepios first turned up in Patrai more than a century ago [Fig. 71, R34: Patrai 208]. It may come from an Asklepieion in Patrai, of which nothing further is known, but the possibility can not be excluded that it had been brought there from somewhere else. On the left Asklepios is depicted with one female deity (probably Hygieia), and his two sons, who stand closest to the large altar in the middle. The family of worshippers coming from the left is headed by a man, who puts something on the altar with his right hand; at his feet is a pig. The man is followed by two women with a slip of their himation drawn over their head, the second one a bit shorter than the first one; there are three children, a small boy and girl, and a taller boy between them. The rear is brought up by the maid carrying the kíste.

The reliefs from Epidauros and Patrai display no significant differences from the Attic ones.

Other healing gods

Amynos

On the west slope of the Akropolis of Athens, the healing heros Amynos had his sanctuary.[192] Sophokles is reported to have been priest of Amynos,[193] whose cult probably was older than the introduction of Asklepios. The site has yielded some anatomical ex votos, the famous relief of Lysimachides,[194] and one fragment of a votive relief with a sacrificial representation; all that is left are a female and a male worshipper, and a sheep.

Amphiaraos

From the Amphiareia both at Oropos and at Rhamnous come some interesting votive reliefs with sacrificial scenes.[195]

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[192] Travlos 1971, 76-78.

[193] At least if we accept the emendation Ἀμύνου instead of Ἄλωνος in *Vita Sophoclis* 11, which we probably should, in view of the strong circumstantial evidence linking Sophokles with Amynos. See Aleshire 1989, 8-9.

[194] Van Straten, in: Versnel (ed.) 1981, 113-4 nr. 2.1-2.5.

[195] Oropos: Petrakos 1968; Schachter 1981, 19-26; Travlos 1988, 301-318. — Rhamnous: Petrakos, *Prakt* 1981, 123-130; Travlos 1988, 388-403. — Athens too had an

Oropos

Of the fourth century relief [Fig. 72, R37: Athens NM 1395] only the left part with the worshippers remains. They are a man and woman (slip of himation over her head) and a child, followed by a maid carrying the kíste covered with a cloth. At the left, i.e. at the rear of the group, in the foreground walks the male servant with the kanoûn, leading two sacrificial animals: a sheep and a pig. The relative position of the animals is peculiar; usually they are at the front. The reason for this may have been in the part of the relief that is lost.

The combination of the two victims has been seen as a welcome confirmation of Pausanias' description of the procedure at the Amphiareion of Oropos: "Everyone who comes to consult Amphiaraos first purifies himself as the rite dictates. Purity comes by sacrificing to the god, and to all the gods whose names are on the altar. When these preparations have been thoroughly finished, they sacrifice a ram and sleep on the fleece, waiting for the revelation of a dream."[196] The pig in the relief then would be the purificatory sacrifice, while the sheep or ram would provide the fleece to sleep on in the *enkoimetérion*. Incubation on an animal skin is indeed attested for the Classical period, not only in the Amphiareion at Oropos, but also in the Amphiareion at Rhamnous and the Asklepieia at Athens and Piraeus.[197] It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that it was the general practice. In fact, most of the incubation reliefs do not show an animal skin spread under the patient. Nor should we think that the sacrifice of a sheep plus a pig was the minimal requirement to be admitted to the Amphiareion at Oropos. A sacred law of the late fifth or early fourth century B.C. is very clear about that: the entrance fee was one drachma (later changed into one and a half drachmae), but one might

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Amphiareion, near the Hephaisteion, where during the construction of the Piraeus railway part of a votive relief was found (Athens NM 1383: Svoronos 328, pl. 38, 4; Süsserott 1938, pl. 22, 5; Hausmann 1948, 171 nr. 74), together with a honorary decree with a relief representation of Amphiaraos, Artikleides and Hygieia, all three with their names inscribed (Athens NM 1396: Svoronos 347, pl. 50; Hausmann 1948, 168 nr. 20; Meyer 1989, A 143, pl. 42, 2). For the general iconography of Amphiaraos see Krauskopf, Amphiaraos, *LIMC* I (1981) 691-713.

[196] Pausanias I 34, 5; translation P. Levi.

[197] Of the votive reliefs listed above in note 180, the following have the patient lying on an animal skin: (i) and (k) from the Asklepieion in Athens, (o) from the Asklepieion in Piraeus, (r) from the Amphiareion in Oropos, (s) from the Amphiareion in Rhamnous.

sacrifice whatever one wished.[198] Practice in the Classical period apparently was much less rigid than Pausanias implies.

Rhamnous

In a relief from Rhamnous the part where the deities were depicted is again missing [Fig. 73, R39: Athens NM 1384]. What we have is the right part of the relief with the worshippers. In the background, approximately where the middle of the relief must have been, is a pillar supporting a votive plaque. In front of it stands a servant in exomís, rendered in frontal view, who holds a kanoûn from which a bearded man takes something. In the background between these two figures the hind quarters and curly tail of a pig are just visible. The man is followed, on the right, by a woman, three small children, and a maid with kíste. The names of the woman and the three children are inscribed above them on the architrave (the name of the man is missing).[199]

Zeus

Zeus Meilichios and Zeus Philios in Athens and Piraeus

An iconographically closely connected group of Attic votive reliefs shows a seated bearded god, not accompanied by any other deities, who may have one or more of the following attributes: an eagle under his chair, a snake, a cornucopia, a sceptre, a phiale. In the inscribed examples the god is sometimes called Zeus Meilichios, sometimes Zeus Philios, without the two being iconographically distinguishable.[200]

A fragmentary example from the north slope of the Hill of the Nymphs in Athens [Fig. 74, R41: Athens EpM 8738] was dedicated by a club of *eranistaí* to Zeus Philios.[201] Enough remains to see that the victim was a pig.

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[198] *LS* 69, 20-24: ἐπαρ|χὴν δὲ διδοῦν τὸμ μέλλοντα θεραπεύεσθαι ὑ|πὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ ἔλαττον ἐννέ' ὀβολοὺς δοκίμου ἀργ|υρίου καὶ ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὸν θησαυρὸν παρε|όντος τοῦ νεωκόρου.
Ibid. 30-31: θύειν δὲ ἐξ|εῖν ἅπαν ὅτι ἂν βόληται ἕκαστος.

[199] Inscription *IG* II² 4426: Βοίδιον Ἱπποκράτης Εὐάγγ<ε>λος Αἰσχύλος.

[200] See Van Straten, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 163-164, 178-180.

[201] Inscription *IG* II² 2935: Ἐραν<ι>σταὶ Διὶ | Φιλίωι ἀνέ|θεσαν ἐφ' Ἡ|γησίου ἄρχον|τος (i.e. 324/3 B.C.).

On a relief found in Piraeus, dedicated to Zeus Meilichios, the victim again is a pig [Fig. 75, R44: Piraeus 3]. The god seated on the left holds a cornucopia. The group of worshippers is composed in a charmingly inept way. The servant with the kanoûn stands behind the altar, while the pig is in front of it. On the right are a man and woman with three small children. The maid with kíste is squeezed into the background between the man and the woman. Furthermore it may be noted that, though the whole family is present, and the man walks in front, nearest the altar, the inscription mentions only the woman as dedicant.[202]

An uninscribed relief, probably also from Piraeus, has two female worshippers and two children [Fig. 76, R45: Athens NM 1408]. The woman nearest the god is kneeling, stretching out her hands towards his knees, indicating that she has come to him in considerable distress, imploring him with an urgent prayer.[203] Since naturally under these circumstances the kneeling woman should be depicted as close as possible to the god, it is understandable that the servant with kanoûn and sacrificial sheep is moved to the rear of the group, just in front of the maid with the kíste. The sheep seems a bit unwilling.

Kneeling women occur on two more reliefs with Zeus Meilichios or Philios, together with a sacrificial sheep [R48: Athens NM 1433; R50: Dresden 150], both of unknown provenance.

Other, mostly incomplete, reliefs depicting a similar Zeus come from Athens ([R42: Athens NM 2383]: sheep; [R43: Athens NM 2390]: bovine animal and two goats?), Eleusis ([R46: Eleusis 5126]: the victim is missing, part of the servant with kanoûn remains), and Sikyon ([R49: Sikyon]: sheep). Of a further three or four the provenance is unknown.[204]

Finally, on another relief of unknown provenance [Fig. 77, R55: Vienna I 1096], the worshippers, a couple with two children, have brought no animal, but there is a maid with kíste, containing bloodless offerings.

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[202] Inscription: [Κρι]τοβόλη Διὶ Μιλιχίω[ι].

[203] Van Straten, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 159-189.

[204] [R51: Newcastle-upon-Tyne]: sheep; [R54: Vicenza EI-54]: sheep; [R53: Verona MM]: pig. On the relief [R52: Venice MC 80] the sacrificial victim seems to have been chiselled away, leaving the attendant strangely hanging in the air.

Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira at Delphi

On a large inscribed votive relief from Delphi [R56: Delphi 1202], a helmeted Athena stands in the middle next to an altar. Of the seated god at her left little remains, but he is usually supposed to be Zeus Soter, with whom Athena Soteira, whose name is preserved in the inscription on the architrave, is often associated in cult.[205] On the right of the altar are a man and a woman bringing two sheep. In the background on the far side of the altar, in front of the man, and rather far from the two victims, is a small figure; perhaps in this case a child being presented to the deities, rather than the usual attendant.

Zeus Karaios at Thespiai

A curious dedication by a group of *sússitoi* was found in Thespiai [Fig. 78, R57: Thebes 154]. This dinner club dedicated a rectangular pillar to Zeus Karaios, which on the front, above the inscription, is decorated with the relief of a bucranium adorned with fillets. On the left and right side respectively are the mandible and the skull of a boar. These remains of sacrifices must have been a pleasant memento of the sacrificial banquets they enjoyed, and at the same time they may contain an allusion to Zeus' epithet in this sanctuary.[206]

Athena[207]

As we saw in the previous section, being Zeus, father of men and gods, was no guarantee for receiving a copious supply of votive reliefs. What reliefs he did get, were mostly dedicated to Zeus Meilichios or Philios, not to his Olympian manifestation. And similarly his daughter Athena received remarkably few of the votive reliefs that her city produced in such great numbers in the later Classical period. It is dangerous to draw far reaching conclusions from a single class of material, but it does seem probable that the private religiosity of the Athenian people at that time, of

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[205] Inscription: [Διὶ Σωτῆρι κ]αὶ Ἀθάναι Σωτείραι Κλευμένης ἀνέθηκε. See Zagdoun 1977, 32.

[206] Cf. Hesychios s.v. Καραιός· Ζεὺς παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς οὕτω προσαγορεύεται· ὡς μέν τινές φασι διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὸς εἶναι, ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρα.

[207] For Athena Soteira at Delphi, see above under Zeus. For the general iconography of Athena: Demargne *et al.*, Athena, *LIMC* II (1984) 955-1044.

which the private dedications are an expression, was not to any great extent directed at Athena Polias.[208]

Athena does have the distinction of being the recipient of the oldest votive relief in the present series [Fig. 79, R58: Athens AkrM 581]. It was found on the Akropolis, and dates from the late Archaic period (c. 500/480 B.C.). Athena herself, wearing a helmet, stands on the left; from the right approach a man and woman with three children: two boys walking in front, and a girl. The sacrificial animal is a large pig, certainly female and probably pregnant. This is the second piece of evidence that pregnant animals were sacrificed to Athena on the Akropolis.[209]

Next there are two reliefs of the fourth century B.C. Of the first one only the extreme left and right part remain; the middle, where the sacrificial animal may have been, is missing [R59: Athens AkrM 2413+]. Athena, with helmet, aegis and spear, stands on the right next to an altar. On the left of the altar is the leg of a man in a short chiton or loin-cloth, probably the sacrificial attendant. The left portion of the relief preserves the head of one worshipper, and the maid with kíste. The other relief is a little more interesting [Fig. 80, R60: Athens AkrM 3007]. Athena again stands on the right of the altar. Behind the altar stands the servant holding the kanoûn, and on the left a small pig peeks from behind the foot of the altar. The group of worshippers on the left consists of one man standing at the altar, and more men arranged in pairs. The relief is broken on the left, but they can be plausibly restored as four pairs, making up a total of nine men. So in this case it is evidently not a family dedication. Probably the men are a group of magistrates, perhaps the nine archontes.

Demeter and Kore

The Eleusinian deities enjoyed an ever increasing popularity during the Classical period, both on the level of public cult and as objects of private piety. We have evidence for a considerable number of votive reliefs dedicated to Demeter and Kore in the course of the later fifth and fourth centuries.[210] Many of these, unfortunately, are very fragmentary, and only a few have representations of sacrifice.

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[208] See also Nilsson 1967, 729 ff.

[209] See the vase painting [V67: Athens NM Akr 636], above p. 26.

[210] Peschlow-Bindokat, *JdI* 87 (1972) 60-157. See also Beschi, Demeter, *LIMC* IV (1988) 844-892.

A well preserved example, dating from the second half of the fourth century, comes from Eleusis [Fig. 81, R67: Paris Louvre 752]. On the right stand Demeter, holding a sceptre and a phiale, and Kore, holding two long torches in one hand and ears of corn in the other. On the left, on the other side of the altar, are a man and a woman (head covered by a slip of the himation) making the usual gesture of worship. In front of the altar a small servant in exomis leads the sacrificial pig and holds the kanoûn.

Of a relief in Athens the exact provenance is not known, but it is assumed to be from an Attic sanctuary [Fig. 82, R68: Athens NM 1016]. Demeter, seated here, and Kore, holding one torch in each hand, are on the left of the altar. The servant with kanoûn and sacrificial pig is on the near side of it, and the family approaches from the right. They are a couple with four small children, followed by the maid carrying the kíste. Rather exceptionally the woman on this relief walks in front of the man. This, combined with the number of children that are present, suggests that this relief may have been dedicated to the goddesses for their patronage of motherhood and child care.[211]

A fragmentary votive relief found at Eleusis may have to do with the Eleusinian mysteries [Fig. 83, R65: Eleusis mag.]. A lot of it is missing, which makes its interpretation problematic. Of a goddess on the right only the raised right hand, which held a sceptre, remains. Parts of five figures approaching her from the left are preserved. The two men in front are appreciably smaller than the numbers three and four (of the fifth only a small piece of drapery remains), but the only one of these smaller men whose head is more or less preserved is clearly bearded, so they can not be children. The taller third and fourth figures, both male, were probably not quite as tall as the goddess. Number three (and probably also number four) carries a small sucking-pig by one hind leg. It looks as though the conventional difference in size between gods and worshippers on votive reliefs is here expanded into a three tier system. If we take the piglets as *choîroi mustikaí*, i.e. the victims that the initiates had to bring and that were slaughtered in the course of the initiation,[212] then the two men

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[211] Cf. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 295 ff. A small Attic votive relief with a representation of some sacrificial cakes is dedicated "to the two goddesses on behalf of the child": Athens EpM 8790, Svoronos 668, pl. 219; Möbius, *AM* 49 (1924) 13; *IG* II² 4588: [Φ]ίλη ταῖν θεαῖν | [ε]ὐξαμένη ὑπὲρ | τοῦ παιδίου.

[212] Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnenses* 747, 764. See Introduction 1.2.

carrying them might perhaps be mythical mystai (Herakles, Dioscuri?), and the two smaller men preceding them Eleusinian priests.[213]

Another relief from Eleusis has a reference to the local myth too [Fig. 84, R64: Eleusis 5006]. The goddess, on the right, is seated on the bare rock, which is probably the *agélastos pétra* on which Demeter sat when she first came to Eleusis.[214] The worshippers are three men and a woman, followed by a maid carrying the kíste, but there is no sacrificial animal; apparently only cakes were offered.[215]

I include here, with some hesitation, a votive relief found in Pompeii [R69: Naples MN 126174]. It is definitely Greek and can be dated to about 400 B.C., but nothing is known of its ultimate provenance. On the right a goddess sits on a bare rock, her sceptre leaning against her shoulder. At her feet is a low altar. The group of worshippers on the left consists of a youth holding a small tray or kanoûn and leading a sheep by the horns. He is followed by three small children, a girl and two boys, one of whom affectionately lays one arm on the victim. Behind them follow a man and two women. The goddess has been variously identified as Aphrodite or Demeter.[216] Her unusual seat is a point in favour of the latter,[217] and so, to a certain extent, is the male sex of the victim. As a general rule, female deities received female sacrificial animals. There are exceptions to this rule. Rams were on certain occasions sacrificed to Demeter or Kore.[218] I have not found this to be true of Aphrodite (which is not much of an argument, given the fragmentary nature of our evidence).

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[213] Some such interpretation might find support in a late fifth century votive relief from Kertch, but that is not without its own interpretational problems: Saint Petersburg Pan 160, Peschlow-Bindokat, *JdI* 87 (1972) 151 R 12, fig. 39; *LIMC* IV (1988) Demeter 270 (good photograph).

[214] Apollodoros I 5, 1. Cf. Homeric Hymn to Demeter 200, with the commentary by Richardson 1974, 219 ff.

[215] [R66: Formerly Brocklesby Park] from Eleusis also has maid with *kíste* and no victim (though it is possible that an animal was depicted in the lost part).

[216] Aphrodite: Harrison 1922, 309; Kraus & Von Matt 1973, 193 nr. 266. Demeter: Mylonas 1961, 200. The descriptions in Harrison and Mylonas are inaccurate.

[217] Artemis too is frequently depicted seated on a rock, but she usually has some distinctive attribute.

[218] Demeter: Eupolis fr. 196 Kassel-Austin (= 183 Kock). Kore: *LS* 20 B 44; *IG* II^2 1673, 62; *LSA* 26, 47.

Aphrodite?

A well preserved relief of exceptional quality in the Louvre [Fig. 85, R71: Paris Louvre 756] is usually attributed to Demeter.[219] Its provenance is unknown, and the goddess standing on the right only holds a sceptre and a phiale. These attributes are not distinctive enough to identify her.

Behind the cylindrical altar stands a boy, who holds a kanoûn filled with doughnut-shaped sacrificial cakes in his left hand, and with his right hand places some of these on the altar. The victim, a small goat, stands ready at the altar. The worshippers on this relief are not a family, but a group of seven boys led by two bearded men. One of the boys holds a wreath. Probably the boys have participated in some game or performance in honour of the goddess, and are now thanking her for the victory.

The only clue to the identity of the goddess, and that not a very conclusive one, is in the species of the victim. Of the more common sacrificial animals, bovine, sheep, pig and goat, the goat is most clearly preferred by specific deities.[220] It is hard to find a sacrifice to Demeter requiring a goat. For Aphrodite and Artemis, there are several. Since, however, Artemis is usually identified by at least one of her attributes (bow and quiver, deer, torches), Aphrodite may be the most likely identification of the goddess on the Louvre relief.[221]

Artemis, Hekate

Brauron

In her Attic sanctuary at Brauron the cult of Artemis Brauronia was closely connected with the childhood and adolescence of girls, with pregnancy and child birth.[222] The excavations have recovered three votive reliefs with sacrificial scenes, all relatively large ones and of good quality,

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[219] Hausmann 1960, 69; Charbonneaux 1963, 120; Peschlow-Bindokat, *JdI* 87 (1972) 156 R 68 hesitantly.

[220] Particularly Dionysos, Apollo, Artemis and Aphrodite.

[221] Goats sacrificed to Aphrodite: e.g. *LS* 169 A 12-13; 172, 3 and 8-9. *LSS* 110.

[222] Travlos 1988, 55-80; Linders 1972; Osborne 1985, 154 ff. Numerous articles by L. Kahil, in: *Neue Ausgrabungen in Griechenland* (*AntK* Beih. 1, 1963) 5-29; *AntK* 8 (1965) 20-33; *AntK* 20 (1977) 86-98; *Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, London* (1978) 73-87; *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 253-263; Moon (ed.) 1983, 231-244; *LIMC* II (1984) 618-753; *CRAI* 1988, 799-813.

dating from the fourth century B.C. In all three a number of children are conspicuously present.

Aristonike's dedication [R73: Brauron 1151] has already been presented as an introductory example of a votive relief. The group of worshippers consists of four couples, each with one child. The children are arranged according to age: they get smaller from front to back, and the last one, at the rear, is too young to walk by himself and is carried on his mothers' arm. Obviously the parents also get younger towards the rear of the group, though it is perhaps less obvious that they should decrease in size as well. Size in their case undoubtedly has more to do with their relative importance than with how tall they really were. According to the inscription on the architrave, this relief is the dedication of one woman, Aristonike.[223] In all likelihood Aristonike is the woman of the first couple; but she, the dedicant, does not even walk up front.

Another votive relief from Brauron was dedicated, according to the inscription on the architrave, by the woman Peisis [Fig. 86, R74: Brauron 1152]. In the representation again the woman dedicant takes second place behind her husband. They are followed by a woman, probably a nanny, accompanying four children of different ages. As in the votive relief of Aristonike, an expensive bovine victim is offered to the goddess. In Aristonike's relief Artemis was depicted alone, in Peisis' relief she is represented together with her mother Leto and her brother Apollo.

In the third relief the arrangement of the worshippers is less patriarchal [Fig. 87, R75: Brauron 1153]. The woman, by whom or on whose behalf this dedication was set up, precedes her family, with a small child standing in front of her, closest to the goddess. She is followed by three bearded men, a youth and two more children. Artemis is seated on the left with a deer by her side. It is interesting to see how the deviation from the conventional arrangement posed some problems for the sculptor. Since it was considered important to have the woman and child directly in front of the goddess, they occupy the place where normally the altar and the sacrificial animal with its attendant would be. The altar, in this relief, is simply left out. The victim and its handler are pushed into the background on the further side of the woman and the child. As a result, so little of the animal is visible that one has to look twice to determine its species (it is a goat).

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[223] Inscription: Ἀρτέμιδι εὐξαμένη ἀνέθηκεν Ἀριστονίκη Ἀντιφάτους Θοραιέως γυνή.

Echinos

A most interesting addition to the corpus of Greek votive reliefs has recently come to light in an emergency excavation at Echinos (modern Achinos) on the Malian Gulf, in the borderland between Malis and Achaia Phthiotis [Fig. 88, R75[bis]: Lamia AE 1041]. The relief, which is dated by the authors of the editio princeps around 300 B.C.,[224] is very well preserved, and has a uniquely rich and detailed representation. The goddess Artemis stands on the right, leaning with her left elbow on a short pillar and holding a long torch in her right hand. She carries a quiver; the top is faintly visible above her right shoulder, but the straps by which it was hung on her back are not indicated (unless they were rendered in paint). A drill-hole in Artemis' left hand indicates that it held a metal attribute, perhaps a bow.[225] In front of the goddess there is a monumental altar, depicted in quite convincing perspective, and from the left approach the worshippers. Nearest the altar is the bovine sacrificial animal; a male attendant in a short chiton grasps one of its horns with his left hand and holds a knife ready in his right hand. Behind him follows a woman who holds a small child in both hands, extending it towards the goddess, while the child in his turn reaches out in the same direction. Behind the young mother comes a female servant, carrying a flat tray on her head which is filled with an apple, a pomegranate, a myrtle bough, three pyramid-shaped cakes, and a bunch of grapes, all carved with admirable attention to detail; in her right hand she holds a small jug (a so-called askos). The last figure on the left is also female; she has drawn her himation over her head, raises her right hand in worship, and holds a small object, perhaps a box, in her left. Above the worshippers, a pair of shoes and some clothes (from left to right: a short short-sleeved chiton, two rectangular fringed pieces of cloth, and a peplos) are hanging on a line which is strung directly underneath the epistyle of the architectonic frame of the relief. These must be votive offerings. It was a widespread custom, which we are particularly familiar with in connection with Brauronian Artemis, for women to donate the clothes which they had worn during pregnancy and at the time of childbirth to their divine protectress. Impressive inventories of votive

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[224] Dakoronia & Gounaropoulou, *AM* 107 (1992) 217-227.

[225] Cf. e.g. [R73: Brauron 1151] for Artemis with bow. Since a bow is not among the possibilities suggested by Dakoronia & Gounaropoulou, *ibid.* 218-219, the nature of the hole may not be in favour of this restoration.

clothes in the sanctuary at Brauron are preserved in inscriptions,[226] but so far the first representation of such votive clothes occurs on this relief from the sanctuary of Artemis at Echinos, where evidently a similar custom existed.

The group of worshippers on the Echinos relief has some features which deserve further attention. In the first place, there is the difference in size of the figures. The female figure carrying the tray on her head is shorter, and also carved in lower relief (more in the background, as it were), than the other two women, which is in keeping with her servant status. The male attendant with the sacrificial animal, however, is depicted on a much smaller scale yet, almost toy-size. The reason for that is not difficult to guess. The main point of the dedication clearly is the presentation of the newborn child to Artemis, so vividly expressed by the gesture of the woman holding it. The effect would be lost if an approximately life size ox were to interpose itself between the child and the goddess. We have seen other votive reliefs where the same problem of the sacrificial animal interfering with the desired closeness between worshipper and deity was solved in different ways, either by pushing the victim into the background [R75: Brauron 1153], or by moving it to the rear of the group [R45: Athens NM 1408]. In this case the sculptor simply shrunk it out of the way. Furthermore, the veiled woman on the left is a little taller than the young mother holding the child, probably indicating that she is of higher rank in the family, the mater familias, so to speak. Something similar, but with the more important people in front instead of at the back, could be seen in Aristonike's relief from Brauron [R73: Brauron 1151].

Thus far, we have observed that our sculptor may have put a little more thought into the iconographical use of size differentiation than was usual, but the devices he used are all within the tradition of the Classical Greek votive relief. Two other elements, however, are foreign to that tradition. The first one is the maid carrying a flat uncovered tray on her head instead of the cylindrical kíste. She does not occur on other Greek votive reliefs of the Classical period, but she is a stock figure in later votive reliefs from northwest Asia Minor and Thrace.[227] Secondly there is

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[226] For the inventories see Linders 1972; for the custom also the somewhat obscure passage in Euripides, *Iphigenia Taurica* 1462-1467, and Hippokrates, *Περὶ παρθενίων*, Littré VIII p. 468, 13-14.

[227] E.g. Athens NM 1486, from Tirilye (near ancient Apameia on the Propontis): Svoronos pl. 112; Robert, *Hellenica* VII (1949) 42 f.; Corsten 1987, 51 nr. 33. — Bursa 2605, from Mustafakemalpaşa (Mysia): Schwertheim, in: *Fests. Dörner* (1978) II 827 nr.

the knife in the hand of the male servant. He is holding it rather meaningfully at the animal's throat, and this relief might indeed be assigned a lonely place in the second main group of sacrificial representations, where the actual killing of the victim is depicted. This, again, is unique for a Greek votive relief of the Classical period, but is a fairly common feature of the later East Greek reliefs.[228] All in all, the new find from Echinos not only forms a welcome addition to the repertoire of Classical Greek votive reliefs, but it also goes some way towards providing the missing link between these and the later East Greek ones.[229]

Aigina

In a votive relief of the late fifth century B.C., found in Palaiochora on Aigina, almost everything is unusual [R76: Athens NM 1950]. On the left is a high stepped base surmounted by an unexplained object (a bit of the left is missing). Welter suggested that it might be a model of a ship, which is neither impossible nor obvious.[230] Two men in short belted chitons, such as working people would wear,[231] stand at the foot of this construction, one holding (and apparently putting down) a goose, the other pouring a libation from a phiale. In the background behind the two men, rendered in very shallow relief, is a goddess holding two torches. Further to the

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IV 1, fig. 39; Schwertheim 1983, 22 nr. 16, fig. 18. — Paris Louvre 2850, from Kyzikos: Charbonneaux 1963, 76; Van Straten, *BABesch* 51 (1976) 11 f., fig. 22; Schwertheim, in: *Fests. Dörner* (1978) II 810 nr. II A3, fig. 23. — Two examples from Thrace: Mihailov, *IGBulg* I² 78 ter and 286.

[228] E.g. Istanbul 189, from Mysia: Mendel nr. 854; Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 126. Whereabouts unknown, from Kazakköy (Mysia): Hasluck, *JHS* 24 (1904) 22 fig. 2; Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 126. —The priest on the Classical relief [R95: Eretria 631] does have a knife, but he holds it in his left hand which is hanging down, not anywhere near the animal's throat; in Classical iconography priests carry knives as a distinctive attribute of their function, also outside any sacrificial context, for instance on grave reliefs: see Mantes 1990, pl. 36-41.

[229] On the problem of the apparent discontinuity between Classical and later votive reliefs see Van Straten, in: Bulloch *et al.* (eds.) 1993, 248-264.

[230] Welter, *AA* 1938, 537-8. Welter discards the possibility that it is an altar on a high stepped base, but in my opinion that is not absolutely inconceivable; cf. the altar on the Attic black figure skyphos [V11: Athens NM 12531]; see also Kahil, Artemis, *LIMC* II (1984) 658 nr. 461: "autel à quatre gradins".

[231] See e.g. the haulier on a votive relief from the Athenian Asklepieion: Athens NM 1341+, Beschi, *ASAtene* 47-8 (1969-70) 86 ff., fig. 1.

right are other worshippers: a boy or youth leading a fawn, and a woman between two not very small children.

The goddess may be Hekate, who had a sanctuary on Aigina, and who was especially worshipped by seamen and fishermen.[232] The sacrificial animals, though uncommon, are not without parallel, but a fawn is hardly the sacrifice one would expect from people who earn their living at sea.

Delphi

From Delphi we have two fragments from the left part of a votive relief [R77: Delphi 1101+]. It shows a standing goddess holding a torch, who must be Artemis according to the partly preserved inscription on the architrave, and part of a seated goddess to her right. On the near side of the chair of the seated figure, a small girl kneels on the ground, stretching out her arms. A larger fragment constituting the right part of a votive relief appears to belong, though the two nowhere join. On this second part is a group of worshippers: man, woman and little girl, preceded by an attendant leading a sheep. In the background, in front of the man, is a frontal woman carrying a liknon on her head.[233] She is not the only unusual feature. Above the heads of the worshippers, on a much smaller scale, a row of six deities is rendered in low relief. They are, from right to left, Hermes, Apollo kitharoidos, a figure with cornucopia (Acheloos), and three female figures sitting behind a table (Nymphs).[234] These small figures in the upper zone are best understood as the gods and goddesses who had their sanctuaries in the neighbourhood of the goddess to whom the relief is dedicated.[235] On the architrave, part of the name of the dedicant can still be read: he may be the same Kleumenes who dedicated the relief to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira.

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[232] For testimonia see Welter 1962, 95 f.

[233] There is a parallel for the woman carrying a liknon on her head on the votive relief [R239: Torcello Mus. Prov. 640]; the foremost of the group of worshippers, also a woman, puts something on the altar; there is no sacrificial animal; the recipient is an unidentified goddess.

[234] The interpretation of Nymphs and Acheloos was proposed by Amandry, in: *BCH* Sup. 9 (1984) 398-401.

[235] Cf. for instance the Bendis relief from Piraeus, Copenhagen NCG 231: Walter, *ÖJh* 31 (1939) 56 f.; Meyer 1989, 296 A 107, pl. 32, 2.

Delos

A sanctuary on the eastern slope of Mount Kynthos on Delos is nowadays generally identified as the shrine of Artemis Lochia mentioned in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*.[236] More than a dozen (fragments of) votive reliefs were found there, some with pregnant women, and some with scenes of sacrifice. All date from the advanced Hellenistic age, except one, which is probably not much later than the end of the Classical period, and happens to be the most completely preserved one [Fig. 89, R78: Delos A 3153]. It depicts Artemis standing on the left, holding a torch; a servant with the sacrificial goat at a cylindrical altar; and a worshipping couple with three small children.[237]

Apollo

Apollo is the recipient of a sacrifice on two votive reliefs of the fourth century B.C., both incomplete, and both of unknown provenance. On a fragment in Copenhagen [Fig. 90, R83: Copenhagen NCG 232 a] the god is depicted playing the kithara, standing on the left of an altar. At the altar stands an attendant holding a young sheep and a kanoûn. Of the worshippers two men and two children remain, and the hand of another adult.

The other fragment [Fig. 91, R84: Detroit 25.14] is a dedication, according to the inscription on the architrave, of a group a *hebdomaïstaí*.[238] Voutiras has advanced strong arguments to link this relief with some that have been found in the Pythion in Ikaria (Attika).[239] The *hebdomaïstaí* must have been a religious association named after the seventh day of the month, which was generally considered as Apollo's birthday.[240] The fragment in Detroit is the left part of a relief with Apollo seated on the omphalos, holding a phiale and a laurel branch. In front of him is an altar. Of the sacrificial attendant the head and one arm holding

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[236] Bruneau 1970, 191-195. Euripides, *Iphigenia Taurica* 1097-8.

[237] For a list of the Hellenistic reliefs, which fall outside the scope of this study, see Bruneau 1970, 191-2. Another Hellenistic votive relief from Delos, with a sacrifice of a pig to Artemis: [R81: Delos A 7724], see Siebert, *BCH* 112 (1988) 764 ff. fig. 33 and 36.

[238] Inscription: ἑβδομαϊσταὶ οἱ ἐπὶ [- - -].

[239] Voutiras, *AJA* 86 (1982) 229-233.

[240] Mikalson 1975, 19.

the kanoûn remain, and part of the head of the victim (probably a sheep); finally one arm of a worshipper survives.

Dionysos

From Koropi in Attika (probably on the territory of the deme Sphettos) comes a votive relief to Dionysos, with sixteen male worshippers in two rows, some of whom hold wreaths [Fig. 92, R86: Athens NM 2400]. In front of them, at the altar, is a small servant with a kanoûn and a pig. Dionysos stands on the right, wearing a short chiton, nebris and endromides, and holding a kantharos in his right hand. This may be a dedication of a choregos, depicted with the fifteen members of the tragic chorus, who had won at a Dionysiac festival.[241]

Herakles

Athens Asklepieion

Herakles was worshipped, in or near the Asklepieion on the south slope of the Akropolis, as a healing god, to whom anatomical ex votos were dedicated. According to later sources this cult of Herakles, named Menytes, was founded by Sophokles.[242] This Herakles must be the recipient of a curious egg-shaped marble votive offering, found on the south slope of the Akropolis [R89: Athens EpM 8793]. The peculiar form is almost certainly to be explained by the fact, that a piece of marble was used originally intended for a funeral vase, the shape of which had already been roughed out.[243] The surface of the relief is badly damaged, but the main elements can be made out. On the left of an altar stands Herakles. On the right are four adult worshippers and two small children, and a servant leading the sacrificial animal (a pig or a sheep). The dedication is inscribed above the relief: "Lysistrate has dedicated this to Herakles on behalf of her children."[244]

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[241] The youthful god, to whom a sheep is offered on the Athenian votive relief [R87: Paris Louvre 754], is interpreted as Dionysos by Charbonneaux 1963, 120. He has no distinctive attributes (the staff he holds is not necessarily a thyrsos). But I suspect that the relief may have been reworked anyway.

[242] See Van Straten, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 168/11; id., in Versnel (ed.) 1981, 106/1.1.

[243] Probably a funeral marble loutrophoros, cf. Kokula 1984.

[244] *IG* II² 4613: Λυσιστράτη [- - -] | ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδ[ίων] | Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνέθηκε. There is a good photograph in Kearns 1989, pl. 1 B (she has missed the archaeological literature on this dedication, and with that its provenance).

Athens Kynosarges?

A little to the south of what used to be the Fix brewery in Athens, not an unlikely location for the Herakleion at Kynosarges,[245] a votive relief to Herakles was found [Fig. 93, R90: Athens EpM 3942]. It is of modest dimensions (27 x 43 cm), and is dominated by an enormous sacrificial bull in the centre of the representation, restrained by a servant in a loin-cloth. Herakles stands on the right, and on the left are the worshippers: a couple with a child and a maid with a kíste. The dedication is inscribed on the architrave.[246]

Herakles and the *Säulenbau*

On a series of votive reliefs Herakles is associated with a construction consisting of four columns placed at the corners of a square foundation and supporting an epistyle.[247] There are slight variations and often the artist has not bothered to show more than two of the four columns, but unmistakably the same type of building is intended, which must have been in use as a typical form of Herakleion in Attika, and probably elsewhere in Greece. It was a permanent stone or wooden framework which on festive occasions was decked with boughs and thus transformed into a pleasant shady pavilion, where Herakles could enjoy the banquet prepared for him by his worshippers.[248]

On a votive relief reportedly from Ithome (Messenia) and dating from the early fourth century B.C., Herakles stands next to such a building [Fig. 94, R92: Athens NM 1404]. From the right approaches a man with a sheep and a bovine sacrificial animal. Bovine victims are also offered on the reliefs in Rome, said to be from Athens [R93: Rome Mus. Bar. 136], and in Venice [R94: Venice 100].[249] On the latter, the worshippers are a man preceded by a boy and a youth. A similar arrangement, with a boy in

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[245] Wycherley 1978, 230.

[246] Inscription: Πάνις Αἰγίριος Ἡρ<α>κλεῖ.

[247] Frickenhaus, *AM* 36 (1911) 121 ff.; Walter, *AM* 62 (1937) 45 ff.; Woodford, in: *Stud. G.M.A. Hanfmann* (1971) 213; Van Straten, *BABesch* 54 (1979) 189 ff.; Boardman *et al.*, Herakles, *LIMC* IV (1988) 801-802: "Herakles at a columnar shrine".

[248] As depicted on an early fourth century Attic krater: Athens NM 14902, Metzger 1951, 224 nr. 56; Woodford, in: *Stud. G.M.A. Hanfmann* (1971) pl. 62; Van Straten, *BABesch* 54 (1979) 195 fig. 5-6.

[249] The relief in Venice was heavily reworked at some later date, see Linfert, *AA* 1966, 496 ff.

front of his father, is found on a relief from Marousi in Attika, also belonging to this series.[250] This probably has to do with Herakles' role at the Oinisteria and the coming of age of boys.[251]

A relief in Eretria has only recently been added to the series [R95: Eretria 631]. Herakles is seated in his *Säulenbau,* on the left.[252] At Herakles' feet is a low rounded altar (*eschára*). On the right is a bovine victim, and a man who by his dress (a long loose short-sleeved chiton) and the máchaira in his left hand is characterized as a priest.[253] The priest is followed by a young man.

Herakles reclining

In view of Herakles' proverbial gluttony, it is not surprising that he is frequently represented reclining at a banquet.[254] On a votive relief in Sofia [Fig. 95, R96: Sofia], the reclining Herakles receives three worshippers, who are preceded by a tiny servant with a kanoûn and a diminutive sheep. The provenance of the relief is unknown, and its date may be the third century B.C.

Pankrates and Palaimon

In 1952 a most intriguing sanctuary was discovered in Athens, on the spot where the Ilissos crossed the King George II Street. A total of some forty votive reliefs were recovered.[255] Before its discovery, no indications of the existence of this sanctuary existed. The principal deities worshipped here, and depicted on the votive reliefs, are a bearded god with a cornucopia, named Palaimon on one inscribed relief; a youthful god closely resembling

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[250] Athens NM 2723, Svoronos 379, pl. 101, 121; Travlos 1971, 276.

[251] Van Straten, *BABesch* 54 (1979) 189-190.

[252] The epistyle in this relief is not curved, as Themelis, *Prakt* 1982, 173, has it, but it forms a corner, suggesting that the *Säulenbau* is set at an angle to the background.

[253] See Mantes 1990 (who seems to have overlooked this relief).

[254] E.g. on a Classical relief from Rhamnous: *Prakt* 1982, 128, pl. 86. See also Verbanck-Piérard, in: Hägg (ed.) 1992, 85-106.

[255] Meliades, *Prakt* 1953, 47 ff.; 1954, 41 ff.; Travlos 1971, 278 f. and nr. 209 on the map at p. 291; Vikela 1988; Boardman *et al.*, Herakles, *LIMC* IV (1988) 802-803: "Herakles Pankrates"; Vikela & Vollkommer, Melikertes, *LIMC* VI (1992) 437-444, esp. 442.

Herakles, named Pankrates (and once or twice Herakles Pankrates[256]). The identification of Pankrates with Herakles is evident. Palaimon, as far as we get to know him from the Athenian reliefs and some comparable material from elsewhere, seems to have been rather like Plouton or Ploutos.[257] Confusingly, the only published relief with a sacrificial animal shows the bearded god with cornucopia and phiale, seated on a throne on the right, but it has an inscribed dedication to Pankrates [Fig. 96, R97: Athens 1st Eph.][258] At the altar in the centre stands an attendant with kanoûn and pig. The group of worshippers, on the left, comprises two men, a woman and a child.

On another relief from the same sanctuary the bearded god with cornucopia is seated on a rock [Fig. 97, R98: Athens 1st Eph.]. There is no sacrificial animal, but the foremost of three worshippers, a kneeling woman, presents him with a table loaded with cakes or fruit. The third worshipper, on the far left, may in fact be the maid with the kíste.

Nymphs

There were many sides to the Nymphs, most of them nice.[259] They were closely connected with the land, and the various aspects of its nature, like mountains and caves, water, and vegetation. They promoted the fertility of the soil and the animals, and also protected human offspring. They were generally helpful, and had so many shrines scattered around the countryside that for most people one of them would always be close at hand.

Beside other votive offerings, votive reliefs were offered to the Nymphs in many of their sanctuaries. A considerable number of these have survived, testifying to the popularity of their cult.[260] From about the middle of the fourth century B.C. the Nymph reliefs typically have an irregular frame suggesting the mouth of a cave. Before that time, in the late fifth and early fourth century, we sometimes see a small stylized cave of Pan in the upper part of the relief field.[261] This constitutes a clear

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[256] Robert, *BE* 1959, 124; 1960, 134.

[257] Van Straten, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 170-172.

[258] Inscription: [ὁ δεῖνα Π]ανκράτηι εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκεν.

[259] Nilsson 1967, 244 ff.; Herter, *RE* XVII (1937) s.v. "Nymphai"; Van Straten, *BABesch* 51 (1976) 1-38; but see Connor, *ClAnt* 7 (1988) 155-189.

[260] Feubel 1935; Fuchs, *AM* 77 (1962) 242-249; Edwards 1985.

[261] Neumann 1979, 54.

reference to the fact that Nymphs were often worshipped in caves, but it will soon have become little more than a conventional feature, like the architectural frame of other votive reliefs. Sometimes they are, rather illogically, combined, with the cave frame set within the architectural frame.[262]

Among the numerous Nymph reliefs, depictions of animal sacrifice are surprisingly rare. Before speculating on possible reasons for this, supposedly to be found in the peculiarities of popular worship of the Nymphs, one should note that it is not specifically sacrificing worshippers, but worshippers in any form whatsoever, that are scarce on these reliefs. So whatever the reason, it cannot have to do with animal sacrifice as such.

One of the rare examples with an animal sacrifice is an Attic fourth century relief in a British private collection [Fig. 98, R99: Mus. Worsleyanum].[263] Inside a cave we see a rustic altar, towards which a servant in exomis leads a sheep, accompanied by three male and two female worshippers; the women have their head covered with a slip of the himation. Hermes and three Nymphs, of impressive stature, appear to perform a chain dance at the altar; the head of Acheloos is on the right, and Pan sits just outside the cave, in the upper left corner.

A fragment of a relief from the general area of the Athenian agora [R101: Athens Agora S 2905] has part of a sacrificial pig, and part of a dancing goddess who may be one of either the Nymphs or the Charites.

According to an isolated scrap of information from the Hellenistic scholar Polemon of Ilion, the Athenians offered wineless sacrifices to (among others) the Nymphs.[264] Fuchs has observed that this statement is refuted by a votive relief from Mount Pentelikon [R100: Athens NM 4466], where a man (Agathemeros, according to the inscription on the base supporting this relief) is pouring a libation to the Nymphs from a kantharos, which implies wine.[265] Strictly speaking, there need not be a contradiction. Polemon's expression *nephália hierá* means that no wine

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[262] E.g. fourth century Nymph relief from Piraeus: Berlin 710 (K 84), Blümel 1966, 78 nr. 91, fig. 130; Edwards 1985, 540 nr. 31. Also a Hellenistic Thessalian votive relief to Artemis: *EA* 3401 b; *LIMC* II Apollon 959.

[263] The inscription preserves part of the patronymicum and the demotikon of the dedicant: [- - -]ιππο Φλυεὺς ἀνέθηκεν.

[264] Polemon fr. 42 (Scholion Sophokles *Oedipus Coloneus* 100): Ἀθηναῖοι ... νηφάλια ἱερὰ θύουσι Μνημοσύνῃ, Μούσαις, Ἥοῖ, Ἡλίῳ, Σελήνῃ, Νύμφαις, Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίᾳ.

[265] Fuchs, *AM* 77 (1962) 248 f.

was poured at the sacrifice of an animal, and this does not necessarily exclude the libation of wine by itself, as in Agathemeros' relief, where no animal is sacrificed. Furthermore, the passage from Polemon has come down to us as an isolated fragment without context, and it is uncertain whether it means that *only* wineless sacrifices were offered on all occasions to these deities, or that wineless sacrifices could be offered on certain occasions. But this may be belabouring the point. Anyone who is marginally familiar with the endless variety of sacrificial regulations in sacred laws, will hesitate to accept that any such general rule as some have read into the Polemon passage, would indeed obtain on all occasions at all sanctuaries of the deities he lists. In the sacrificial calendar from the deme Erchia there are, in fact, two sacrifices to the Nymphs that are not wineless.[266]

In the rock face of the quarry of Hagios Minas on Paros, a dedication is carved of the Odrysian Adamas to the Nymphs, dating from the fourth century B.C. [R102: Paros].[267] Above the inscription is a complex relief, now partly destroyed. The greater part of the relief was occupied by a large crowd of deities, among whom Nymphs, Attis, Plouton, Demeter, Gaia, Silenos, Pan, the Korybantes, may be identified with more or less confidence. In the bottom right corner is a group of worshippers, one of them a kneeling woman, and an attendant leading a sacrificial victim (a sheep?).[268]

Heroes

Aineias the Tactician, a fourth century writer of a military handbook, has an interesting chapter on secret messages.[269] One way to convey such a

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[266] *LS* 18, A 14-16 and E 44-46; since several other sacrifices in this inscription are explicitly characterized as νηφάλιος, the absence of this stipulation may be taken as significant.

[267] Inscription: Ἀδάμας | Ὀδρύσης | Νύμφαις.

[268] A Hellenistic relief from Rhodos depicts women sacrificing a goat, maybe to the Nymphs [R103: Rhodos 4633].

[269] Aineias the Tactician, *Περὶ τοῦ πῶς χρὴ πολιορκουμένους ἀντέχειν*, 31 *Περὶ ἐπιστολῶν κρυφαίων*, 15: γράφοιτο δ' ἂν καὶ εἰς πινάκιον ἡρωικὸν ἅπερ ἂν βούλῃ. ἔπειτα καταλευκῶσαι καὶ ξηράναντα γράψαι ἱππέα φωσφόρον ἢ ὅ τι ἂν βούλῃ, ἔχοντα ἱματισμὸν λευκὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππον λευκόν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ ἄλλῳ χρώματι, πλὴν μέλανος. ἔπειτα δοῦναί τινι ἀναθεῖναι ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως εἰς ὃ ἂν τύχῃ ἱερὸν ὡς εὐξάμενος. ὃν δὲ δεῖ ἀναγνῶναι τὰ γεγραμμένα, χρὴ ἐλθόντα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ γνόντα τὸ πινάκιον συσσήμῳ τινὶ προσυγκειμένῳ, ἀπενέγκαντα εἰς οἶκον θεῖναι

message made use of a painted votive tablet for a hero shrine (*pinákion heroikón*). The secret message was to be written on the wood; it should then be whitened and dried. Finally one should paint a horseman on it, or whatever else one wanted.

Two things emerge. A hero shrine would never be far away. And the first thing that would come to mind when one had to think of an appropriate representation for a votive offering to a hero would be a rider.

The wooden *pinákia heroiká* mentioned by Aineias have not survived, but we may assume that on terracotta and marble votive reliefs too the hero was often represented as a horseman. This is confirmed by a number of inscribed examples.[270] On a relief from Laurion, the hero rider is armed.[271] That heroes were often thought of as armed is also clear from an allusion in Aristophanes' *Wasps*.[272] Then again, the hero warrior may be shown dismounted, standing beside his horse.[273]

With striking frequency the hero is accompanied by a female deity, his consort the heroine, who—one might almost say—is as much an attribute of the hero as his horse.[274] More often than not the hero, standing beside his horse, and the heroine are depicted performing a libation.[275] A very similar type of representation has the divine couple pouring a libation, the god in armour, but without a horse.[276] In the light of the series of reliefs mentioned above, I think that notwithstanding the absence of the horse these latter ones too should be taken as votive reliefs to a hero, rather than to Ares, who is by no means a prominent receiver of votive gifts. Yet another variant shows the hero seated on a diphros [Fig. 99, R113: Patrai]. Here the identification of the deity as a hero is confirmed, with

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εἰς ἔλαιον· πάντα οὖν τὰ γεγραμμένα φανεῖται.

[270] E.g. Paros: *AEphem* 1960, Chron. 2 nr. 9, pl. Εα; *AEphem* 1975, Chron. 28 nr. 49.

[271] Athens NM 1411, Svoronos pl. 33.

[272] Aristophanes, *Vespae* 823:

οὔκουν ἔχει γ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἥρως ὢν ὅπλα.

Scholion (vetus) ad loc.: εἶχον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἥρωες πανοπλίαν.

[273] E.g. Basel, *Kunstwerke der Antike* (Sonderausst. Luzern 1963) nr. A 6.

[274] In Attic sacrificial calendars hero and heroine are regularly coupled: e.g. Marathonian Tetrapolis: *LS* 20 *passim;* Thorikos: *SEG* 33 (1983) 147 *passim.* See Parker, in: Linders & Nordquist (eds.) 1987, 145 and 147.

[275] E.g. Thasos mus. 31.

[276] E.g. Paris Louvre 742, Frel, *RA* 1968, 160 fig. 7; Venice, Traversari 1973, nr. 10.

commendable redundancy, by three of his attributes: horse (horse's head), arms (shield), and female companion.

The representations we have seen so far would seem to refer to the hero's way of life, to his general image: he is thought of, somewhat vaguely one gathers, as a horseman, a warrior, and a family man.

The second large group of reliefs has to do with a particular feature of hero cult: the hero, usually together with his consort, is reclining at a banquet, set on the *trápeza* that according to several sacred laws of Classical Greece was often offered to heroes, though not exclusively to them.[277] The conventional name of this type of relief, "Totenmahl" or "Funeral Banquet", has proved extremely unfortunate. In the archaeological literature these reliefs are all too often thoughtlessly interpreted as grave reliefs, even after the basically sound treatment of the subject by Thönges-Stringaris.[278] Her conclusion that in the Classical period banquet reliefs of the broad type are generally to be taken as votive reliefs remains valid, and can now be based on more than double the amount of evidence. Banquet reliefs do occur on Classical grave stelai, but these are clearly distinguished from the votive banquet reliefs by the shape of the stone and the somewhat reduced version of the representation.

The two main types of representation, the hero horseman and the hero banqueting, are sometimes combined in one relief.[279] Or a small votive tablet of a rider hero is incorporated in a banquet scene.[280] But more commonly, of course, in banquet reliefs only the horse's head, often shown within a sort of frame or window panel, reminds us of the equestrian qualities of the hero. Occasionally some of the hero's arms are depicted, hanging on the wall.[281]

Furthermore the hero frequently has a young attendant, running beside his horse or acting as oinochoos at the banquet. Both in riding and in

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[277] E.g. Athens: *LS* 1 A 19; Marathonian Tetrapolis: *LS* 20 B 4, 23-25; Thorikos: *SEG* 33 (1983) 147 *passim*. In a fragmentary inscription from the Athenian Agora a klíne is mentioned among the properties of a hero: Rotroff, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 196-209 + Meritt, *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 150 nr. 41; see Lewis, *ZPE* 36 (1979) 131-134. On hero cult and banquet also Slater, *GrRomByzSt* 30 (1989) 485-501.

[278] Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 1-99. See also Dentzer 1982.

[279] London BM 712, Mitropoulou, *Corpus* I (1977) nr. 54; the inscription is modern.

[280] Piraeus, Svoronos 536, fig. 243.

[281] Thebes 129, Karousos 1934, 44 nr. 129.

banqueting he may be (but need not be) accompanied by a snake,[282] an attribute he shares with many gods. In not quite all of the banquet reliefs he holds a rhyton.[283]

Along the lines sketched above it is possible to compile a reliable corpus of Classical Greek votive reliefs to heroes. With very few exceptions these turn out to be private offerings. As a group, the hero reliefs are distinctly more numerous than those of any single deity. The relative importance of hero worship in private religion must have been far greater than our literary sources suggest.

Something of the nature of the heroes, as conceived by their worshippers, may be gleaned from their names inscribed on some of the reliefs. Some of the names hint at their horsemanship (Zeuxippos,[284] Chrysippos,[285] Hippalkmos[286]) or at their martial character (Aleximachos,[287] Symmachos[288]), both recurring features of their iconography, as we have seen. But a considerable number of names or epithets found on the hero reliefs point to the hero's benevolent, kind and helpful character. He is called *epékoos* (hearing prayers)[289] or Eukolos (good natured)[290]. In Epidauros the same word εὔκολος was used as an epithet of Asklepios.[291] Similarly a hero Sosineos (saviour of ships) was worshipped at Andros and in Attika at Thorikos,[292] whereas elsewhere σωσίνεως is found as an

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[282] Cf. Artemidoros, *Oneirokritika* 4, 79: δράκοντες οἱ μὲν εἰς ἄνδρας μεταβάλλοντες ἥρωας σημαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ εἰς γυναῖκας ἡρωίδας.

[283] Cf. Athenaios XI 461 b: (Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ περὶ Μέθης φησὶν)· ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις οὔτ' ἐν γραφαῖς οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῶν †πρότερον† εὑρήσομεν ποτήριον εὐμέγεθες εἰργασμένον πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς. τὸ γὰρ ῥυτὸν ὀνομαζόμενον μόνοις τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἀπεδίδοσαν. F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles* 9 ²(1969) 51 fr. 9, where some suggestions for the solution of the *crux* are offered. Elsewhere Athenaios attributes an almost identical passage to Theophrastos, *Περὶ μέθης* (XI 497 e), but see Wehrli p. 73.

[284] Triest, *EA* 595; *AM* 80 (1965) 75 nr. 42. Corinth, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) pl. 91 f.

[285] Verona, Ritti 1981, nr. 37.

[286] Thessalonike, Hausmann 1960, 84 fig. 49.

[287] Berlin 807, from Tanagra, Blümel 1966, nr. 77, fig. 113.

[288] Volos, from Pharsalos, Biesantz 1965, L 50, pl. 47.

[289] Olbia, *InscrOlbiae* 1968, nr. 72, pl. 37.

[290] Mannheim, *EA* 1434; *AM* 80 (1965) 95 nr. 174. Nice, *AZ* 1974, 148; *AM* 80 (1965) 81 nr. 92.

[291] *IG* IV² 1, 469.

[292] Andros, *AEphem* 1980, Chron. 25, nr. 26. Thorikos: *SEG* 33 (1983) 147, 50.

epithet of Poseidon.[293] A lost banquet relief is dedicated to the obviously agricultural hero Bouthon and his generous heroine Eudosia.[294] We know of a hero Iatros (healer) in Athens.[295] A hero Praxiteles (fulfiller) was worshipped in the Athenian sanctuary of Asklepios and in Boiotia.[296]

The heroes we encounter in votive reliefs appear to be of a generally helpful nature, very similar to gods like Asklepios. But in some respects they had a considerable advantage over the great gods, which made them more popular to the common worshipper than even Asklepios: the heroes were near.[297] Near in the geographical sense, for the nearest hero shrine will never have been far away, but also in a spiritual sense: the more modest stature of the hero made him seem much more accessible to the people who sought help for their every-day troubles and problems.[298]

The intimacy between the heroes and their worshippers is reflected, I think, in the many dedications of votive offerings τῷ ἥρωι, to the hero, without a name. Some of these heroes may well have been nameless, but even if they had a proper name, to the worshippers their hero was simply "The Hero".

Of the several hundreds of votive reliefs to heroes known to us, close to a hundred have scenes of animal sacrifice.[299] By far the most of them are banquet reliefs. In addition to these, there are twenty or so without a sacrificial animal, but with the maid carrying the kíste. We have seen this

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[293] Latyschev, *IOSPontEux* II 25, p. 22.

[294] *IG* II² 4591.

[295] New York, *BulMMA* 16 (1957-58) 190. Dow, *BAmSocP* 22 (1985) 33-47.

[296] Athens NM 1522, Svoronos pl. 130. *IG* VII 3089.

[297] Pindaros, *Pyth.* 8, 57-61:

χαίρων δὲ καὶ αὐτός
Ἀλκμᾶνα στεφάνοισι βάλλω, ῥαίνω δὲ καὶ ὕμνῳ,
γείτων ὅτι μοι καὶ κτεάνων φύλαξ ἐμῶν
ὑπάντασεν ἰόντι γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν παρ' ἀοίδιμον,
μαντευμάτων τ' ἐφάψατο συγγόνοισι τέχναις.

Cf. Rusten, *HarvSt* 87 (1983) 289-297. In folk tales, heroes also had a spooky side to their character, and could make a nuisance of themselves; see Bonner, *HarvTheolR* 30 (1937) 119-140. Without context, it is hard to tell whether Aristophanes fr. 318 Kassel-Austin (= 304 Kock): οἱ γὰρ ἥρως ἐγγύς εἰσιν, is a worrying or a comforting remark.

[298] On hero cult see Deneken, Heros, in: Roscher I (1884-1890) 2441-2589; Farnell 1921; Nock, *HarvTheolR* 37 (1944) 141-174 (= *Essays* II, 1972, 575-602); Kearns 1989.

[299] In this number some Hellenistic ones are sure to be included; sometimes it is hard to decide between a late Classical and a Hellenistic date for a relief, and in such cases I have preferred to err on the generous side.

feature before, in reliefs of other gods, and I have proposed the interpretation that they refer to the bringing of bloodless offerings such as cakes. That it occurs so frequently in hero reliefs, agrees well with the fact that the setting of a table with such offerings was a particularly common part of hero cult.

Hero reliefs with animal sacrifice, in so far as their provenances are known, come from all over the Greek world, from Kerkyra to the Greek cities in Asia Minor, and from Rhodos to the northern shores of the Black Sea. I have singled out only a few, with special characteristics, for some brief observations.

Of the varieties of hero rider reliefs, the type with the hero dismounted pouring a libation together with the heroine would seem to lend itself best to the addition of a group of worshippers bringing a sacrificial victim. That is what we see on a relief from Pergamon [Fig. 100, R111: Priv. coll. Nicholson].[300] This is one of several instances among the hero reliefs where the servant and the sacrificial animal (a sheep) are reduced to diminutive proportions, hardly reaching to the knee of an adult worshipper. In other cases the worshippers are combined with a hero horseman in full swing, sitting on a rearing horse [R112: Vienna AS I 1083]. In a relief from Amorgos [Fig. 101, R109: Amorgos], this lively hero is combined with a heroine standing at the altar, and two snakes, one of which is coiled round the trunk of a tree, while the other one appears to eat something that lies on the altar. All this does not leave much room for the worshippers and the attendant with the sacrificial sheep on the right. A relief from Boiotian Hyettos, with a mounted hero, is exceptional in that the worshipper has lifted up the sacrificial pig, which is not very small, and holds it above the altar [R105: Malesina]. The other one, from Thebes, with a dismounted hero and heroine pouring a libation, has a rounded altar in the shape of a low omphalos or high eschára [Fig. 102, R106: Thebes 62].

A sacrifice to a seated hero occurs on two reliefs. One is in Patrai [R113: Patrai], already mentioned. The group of worshippers consists of four men, three women and two children, in a strangely separatist arrange-

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[300] The provenance is given as Smyrna by Waldstein, *JHS* 7 (1886) 250; and as Rhodos by Mitropoulou, *Libation* (1975) 20 nr.10. There is, however, no possible doubt that this relief is identical with the one seen in Pergamon by Le Bas, mon. fig. 139.

ment: first the four men, then the women and children. The other relief is from Olbia [R114: Olbia]. The seated hero is characterized by a snake, and a shield and breast-plate hanging on the wall. The sacrificial procession with a bovine victim is preceded by a female kanephóros, and includes a pipe-player, two elements that suggest a public rather than a private ceremony.

A banquet relief found in Athens, a little to the southeast of the Akropolis [Fig. 103, R126: Athens NM 3873], combines many of the more usual characteristics of the type. In the upper left corner is a slightly sunken panel with a horse's head in low relief. On the right the bearded hero reclines on a couch, with his head to the right, leaning, as it were, against the anta of the relief. He holds a large rhyton in his raised right hand and a cup or possibly a phiale in his left hand. The heroine sits on the foot-end of the same couch, turned towards her spouse. With her right hand she puts some incense, which she has taken from a box in her left hand, into a thymiaterion standing on the table in front of the couch. On the table there are also some cakes and perhaps fruits, towards which a snake, coiled underneath the table, reaches up. On the right, carved in low relief on the anta, is the oinochoos (the cupbearer who serves at most of the heroic banquets). To the left of the table, still in front of the couch, is an altar, on the near side of which is the servant with kanoûn and pig. The left part of the relief is rather crowded by the group of worshippers, a man and a woman (head covered), and, carved on the left anta, the maid carrying the kíste. There are three children, the smallest of whom is shooing a goose towards the altar. The goose is exceptional. All the other elements are found in many other reliefs.

A fragment of a double-relief (amphiglyphon) comes from the Athenian Asklepieion or its neigbourhood [R115: Athens Akr 3013]. On one side (A) only the worshippers remain, in the right part of the relief: a man and a woman, followed by a big girl and two smaller boys; on the left, in front of the man, is a small girl (there may have been another child, but the relief is broken there). This is another instance of a child being depicted at the head of the group of worshippers, nearest to the god (or gods, who is/are missing in this relief). On the other side (B), the deities were on the right, again in the missing part of the relief, but enough remains of a couch and table to recognize the type as a hero banquet. The group of worshippers, coming from the left, corresponds in composition with that on (A) except for an additional very small child (which, on the other side,

may have been in the missing part). On (B) the man and woman are foremost, the children behind them, and they are accompanied by a servant with kanoûn and sheep, an a maid with kíste. We could interpret (A) as the supplication for the well-being of the youngest child(ren), and (B) as a subsequent thank-offering. The recipient may be one of the heroes worshipped in and near the Asklepieion.

A healing hero is certainly intended on a banquet relief in the Kanellopoulos collection [Fig. 104, R174: Athens Kan. 14]. An anatomical ex voto in the form of a large leg is depicted on the left. The provenance is unknown. If it should be from Athens, we might think of the Heros Iatros, or Amynos, but probably any hero could be a healer if so implored.

A Hellenistic relief from Samos [R161: Samos Tigani 307] has an interesting sacrificial scene to the left of the reclining hero and his consort. Several figures and a sheep stand round an altar. A small figure holds up a kanoûn, and both a man and a woman appear to take something from it. Unfortunately the surface is rather damaged, so the reading of the scene is not entirely certain.

A fragment in a private collection [Fig. 105, R188: Priv. coll. Bern] has a number of unusual features. The right part of the relief with most of the reclining hero is missing. On the left are four adult worshippers, a woman (head covered) followed by three men. In the foreground is a disproportionately small servant in exomis, leading an equally small sheep with his right hand and holding in his left a tray or kanoûn covered with a cloth. He moves in the direction of the table in front of the couch, and from underneath that table a snake stretches out his head towards this small servant (or rather, I assume, towards the offerings he brings). On the bottom ledge part of the dedication is preserved, by Timon to the hero.[301]

A banquet relief from Corinth [R140: Corinth S 2644], with the sacrifice of a sheep, seems to have an unusual low rubble altar. Only part of the relief is preserved, and consequently the interpretation is somewhat doubtful.

One of the most un-monumental votive reliefs comes from Sikyon [R141: Sikyon 345]. A complete banquet scene, with hero, heroine, two worshippers and a servant with pig and kanoûn at an altar, surrounded by the conventional architectural frame, is accommodated on a marble plaque of 12 x 15 cm. From snout to tail the victim measures barely 2 cm.

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[301] Inscription: Τίμων ἥρωι [- - -].

On a relief from Megara [Fig. 106, R137: Athens NM 1532], the servant leads two victims towards the banqueting hero: a sheep and a pig. They walk side by side, and of the pig, which is on the far side, only part of the snout and forelegs is visible, but that is enough for identification.

On a banquet relief in Istanbul [Fig. 107, R149: Istanbul 407], dated to c. 300 B.C., the hero holds a phiale in his right hand from which the snake drinks; underneath the table is a dog. At the altar, on the left, several worshippers are squeezed into a limited space. On the far side of the altar a youth (or girl?) holds a kanoûn or a tray in front of a bearded man, who is putting something on the altar. On the near side, largely obscured by two children, is a small servant with a sheep; on the far left two women complete the party.

This relief was found on the Thracian Chersonesos (the Gallipoli peninsula). In that area was Elaious, where the hero Protesilaos was worshipped, who is the subject of Philostratos' *Heroikos*. He might be the hero on this relief.

On a banquet relief from the Polites collection [R187: Private coll.], the group of worshippers consists of nine bearded men, probably an association of some sort or a board of magistrates. A third century banquet relief from far away Olbia [Fig. 108, R150: Olbia], has a group of five bearded men, whom the inscription identifies as the board of grain buyers (σιτῶναι) and their secretary, who have dedicated this relief (τύπος) to the (apparently nameless) heros *epékoos*.[302]

2.3. Images and texts: the assenting animal?

In Greek literature it is almost a cliché that the victims should go voluntarily to the sacrifice.[303] And yet we have seen that in vase paintings it is

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[302] Inscription: σιτωνήσαντες Θεοκλῆς Θρασυδάμα, Δημήτριος Φωκρίτου, | Ἀθήναιος Κόνωνος, Ναύτιμος Ἡροξένου, γραμματεύοντος | Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ Δημαγόρου τὸν τύπον ἥρωι ἐπηκόωι. See Robert, *BE* 1970, 408. On *sitônai* see Strubbe, *EpigrAnat* 10 (1987) 45-82 and 13 (1989) 99-122.

[303] Full references in Burkert, *GrRomByzSt* 7 (1966) 106-7. In the early fifth century A.D., Macrobius, *Saturnalia* III 5, 8, sums up many earlier testimonia: *observatum est a sacrificantibus ut, si hostia quae ad aras duceretur fuisset vehementius reluctata ostendissetque se invitam altaribus admoveri, amoveretur quia invito deo offerri eam putabant. quae autem stetisset oblata, hanc volenti numini dari aestimabant.* — In Douglas Adams, *The Restaurant at the End of the Universe* (1980) 92-94, the "large fat meaty quadruped of the bovine type with large watery eyes, small horns and what might

quite common for sacrificial animals to be restrained by ropes tied to their heads and legs. An ox may have as many as three of its legs secured [V107: London B 80]. The servants of Bousiris copy this method when trying to sacrifice Herakles. Small sucking-pigs were unceremoniously carried by one hind leg, and occasionally a full-grown sheep would be bodily carried to the altar.[304] These cases can not be excused by a reference to the vase painting artisan's indifference towards ritual propriety. On many votive reliefs too, some mild pulling and shoving of the animal is going on. And even on such a carefully thought out public monument as the Parthenon frieze, the Greeks did not shy away from showing that the voluntary cooperation of the victims had better not be taken for granted.[305]

Later votive reliefs sometimes are very explicit in showing how the bulls are restrained by a rope which is tied to their head and passed through a ring at the base of the altar (in several places such altar rings have been found in situ[306]). By pulling this rope, the animal can be forced to its "knees".[307] Much the same technique is used in modern Greek

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almost have been an ingratiating smile on its lips", goes one step further and shoots itself. The cow in Ploutarchos, *Lucullus* 24, 4, comes close: ἐλθοῦσα πρός τινα πέτραν ἱερὰν τῆς θεοῦ νομιζομένην ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔστη, καὶ καταβαλοῦσα τὴν κεφαλὴν ὥσπερ αἱ δεσμῷ κατατεινόμεναι θῦσαι τῷ Λευκόλλῳ παρέσχεν αὑτήν.

[304] On an Apulian krater from Ruvo, c. 340/320 B.C., with Oinomaos and Pelops sacrificing [V409: Saint Petersburg 4323]. Menandros based a comical scene on a recalcitrant sheep, causing a lot of trouble to the *mágeiros* who brings it to the sacrifice: *Dyscolus* 393-399.

[305] Brommer 1977, pl. 154 ff.

[306] Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 43 ff. Also Athens Agora: Thompson, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 96 and McAllister, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 8; Pergamon: Kasper, *PergForsch* 1 (1972) 69-73, fig. 19.

[307] Votive reliefs from Asia Minor with sacrificial animals tethered to an altar ring and/or forced to their "knees": (a) Berlin inv. 1686, from Kavak (Mysia): Robert, *OpMinSel* II 1343 f. pl. 28. (b) Bursa 2584, from Alpağut (Mysia): Schwertheim 1983, 24 nr. 20, fig. 19. (c) Bursa 2605, from Mustafakemalpaşa (Mysia): Schwertheim, in: *Fests. Dörner* (1978) II 827 nr. IV 1, fig. 39 (description incorrect); Schwertheim 1983, 22 nr. 16, fig. 18. (d) Bursa 2618, from Kestelek (Mysia): Schwertheim 1983, 5 nr. 3, fig. 6. (e) Bursa 3143, "from Karacabey (Mysia)": Schwertheim, in: *Fests. Dörner* (1978) II 819 nr. II A 14, fig. 28; Schwertheim 1983, 18 nr. 11, fig. 12. (f) Bursa 3160, from Mustafakemalpaşa (Mysia): Schwertheim 1983, 27 nr. 23, fig. 21. (g) Bursa 6811, from Tahtali Köyü (Bithynia): Schwertheim, in: *Fests. Dörner* (1978) II 799 nr. I A 11, fig. 9 (the victim is represented in relief on the front of the altar). (h) Bursa 7546, from Mustafakemalpaşa (Mysia): Schwertheim 1983, 11 nr. 7, fig. 8. (i) Istanbul 189, from Mysia: Mendel nr. 854; Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 126. (j) Istanbul 312, from Kyzikos: Mendel nr. 1144. (k) Istanbul 1503, from near Bandirma (Mysia): Mendel nr.

sacrifice, and when the bull is forced to his knees, his kneeling is taken as a sign of his willingness to be sacrificed.[308]

It is likely that the whole fiction of the victim's assent to its own killing in actual sacrificial ritual was no more than a formality. A sheep was sprinkled with some of the chérnips, and if it jerked its head, that was taken as consent. The act might be repeated if the trick did not work the first time, but within reason. If the animal had to be almost drowned in the process before showing the required reaction, things were sure to go wrong.[309] Bovine animals might be induced to bend their head in consent, by being given a drink of water, or perhaps in other ways.[310]

It is striking that in the iconographical material even these formalities get very little attention. As far as this class of evidence goes, the formal sign of consent of the sacrificial victim clearly was not an aspect of the ritual that was thought particularly interesting or important.

837; Robert, *Hellenica* 9 (1950) 63, pl. II (the victim is represented in relief on the front of the altar). (l) Istanbul 1909, from Kavak (Mysia): Mendel nr. 836; Edhem Bey, *BCH* 32 (1908) 521 ff., pl. 5-6; Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 45. (m) Istanbul 2649, from Yalvaç (Pisidia): Mendel nr. 1382; Lane 1971, 112 nr. 177. (n) Istanbul 4019, from Topkapu Saray (Istanbul): Müfid, *AA* 1933, 138 f. fig. 23; Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 18 f. (o) Istanbul 4407, from Kyzikos?: Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 125 nr. 25, pl. 19, 3 and 38, 2. (p) Istanbul 4725, from Derkoz (in the European part of Turkey): Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 43 f., pl. 9, 2 and 10. (q) Istanbul 5287, from Haraççiköyü Eyüp (Istanbul): *Annual Arch. Mus. Istanbul* 7 (1956) 55, fig. 3. (r) Konya, from Yalvaç (Pisidia): Lane 1971, 152 nr. 288, pl. 96 (description incorrect). (s) Konya, from Yalvaç (Pisidia)?: Lane 1971, 165 nr. AD 1, pl. 105. (t) London BM 2151, from Kyzikos: Perdrizet, *BCH* 23 (1899) pl. 5, 2; Smith, *Cat.* III (1904) nr. 2151; *BMI* 1006; Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 126. (u) Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet NM Sk 201: Amnestål, *MedelhavsMusB* 24 (1989) 19-30 (the victim is represented in relief on the front of the altar). (v) Private collection, from the Kyzikos area: Robert, *BCH* 107 (1983) 545 ff., fig. 1. (w) Whereabouts unknown, from Kazakköy (Mysia): Hasluck, *JHS* 24 (1904) 22 fig. 2; Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 126. — On other reliefs: (aa) Ephesos, on the side of an altar: Miltner 1958, 38 fig. 28; Seiterle, *AW* 10, 3 (1979) 11 fig. 18. (bb) Pergamon, from the Demeter temple: Hepding, *AM* 35 (1910) 509, pl. 29, 2; Kasper, *PergForsch* 1 (1972) 69-73, fig. 20. (cc) Istanbul 1423, from Tralleis: Mendel nr. 547; Laubscher, *IstMitt* 16 (1966) 125, pl. 22, 1. (dd) London BM 2175, "from Philippi": Smith, *Cat.* III (1904) nr. 2175. (dd) Athens, altar or base in Iobakcheion: Schrader, *AM* 21 (1896) 266-269, pl. IX; cf. Travlos 1971, 274. (ee) Copenhagen NCG, Poulsen 1951, 53.

[308] Aikaterinides 1979, 67 and pl. V 1.

[309] See Ploutarchos, *De defectu oraculorum* 437 a-b, 438 a-c.

[310] See above 2.1.2: *Beautifying the beast.* Cf. the *lex sacra* from Kos, *LS* 151 A 19: θύεται δὲ (ὁ βοῦς) αἱ μέγ κα ὑποκύψει τᾶι Ἰστίαι.

CHAPTER THREE

THE KILLING

In this group I have included not only pictures of the precise moment that the killing instrument (axe or knife) hits or pierces the body of the victim, but also those showing the immediately preceding moment, when the instrument is held poised for the blow. It seems a fair assumption that there too the interest is in the act of killing.

Even so, this is not a large group: representations of the actual killing of the sacrificial animal are not numerous in Archaic and Classical Greece. To begin with, there is only one votive relief,[1] and that uncertain. The relief, which is now in the Chalkis museum [Fig. 109, R225: Chalkis 7], formerly was in Larymna (Lokris/Boiotia), but nothing is known of its ultimate provenance or the circumstances of its discovery. The marble was recognized as Thespian by Rodenwaldt.[2] Its style suggests a date about 400 B.C. We see a man bestriding a ram from behind, clasping it between his knees and pressing it down on the rocky ground. With his left hand under the animal's chin, he pulls its head up and backwards, exposing its throat to the knife or sword he holds in his right hand. We will encounter approximately the same motif in vase painting.

There is really no decisive argument for or against interpreting this relief as votive. Its shape (the top part is missing, but originally it must have been somewhat higher than wide) does not help either way. Rodenwaldt's tentative proposal to connect it with the cult of the Kabeiroi, which has lingered on in scholarly literature on the subject, is not based on any substantial argument.[3]

For the rest of this chapter, we have only vase paintings to work with. From a practical point of view these representations may be classified according to the size of the animal, since that would determine, at least partly, the manner in which the animal was killed.

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[1] Or two if we include the votive relief from Echinos [R75[bis]: Lamia AE 1041], discussed in the previous chapter.

[2] Rodenwaldt, *JdI* 28 (1913) 326 ff.

[3] Rodenwaldt, *JdI* 28 (1913) 327-8; Kern, *RE* s.v."Kabeiros und Kabeiroi", 1418; Hemberg 1950, 253.

3.1. Small animals

The inside tondo of an Attic red figure kylix of the late sixth century [Fig. 110, V147: Paris Louvre G 112] depicts the sacrifice of a small pig. A youth, squatting at the altar, supports the animal with his right hand and forearm, at the same time grasping its snout with his left hand, thus closing its mouth, and, by drawing the head up and back, exposing the throat. The sacrificial knife is held ready by a bearded man, who with an eloquent gesture of his left hand indicates that the animal should be held well over the altar. Thus, when the animal's throat is cut, its blood will gush directly onto the altar, which, in fact, is already stained with the blood of previous sacrifices. The Greeks could describe this procedure expressively and succinctly by "cut an animal's throat onto or into something."[4]

Making the altar bloody, was an essential part of sacrifice, and it was considered important that blood was abundantly poured over it.[5] Loukianos, in his irreverent pamphlet *On sacrifices,* evokes an image of a priest, up to his elbows in gore, pouring the blood round the altar, and the gods gathering round to drink it like flies.[6] This is a caricature, of course. For Theophrastos, getting covered in blood at a sacrifice was of the same order as wiping ones nose while eating, spitting while talking, and belching at you in the middle of a drink: not things, we gather, an Athenian gentleman was supposed to do.[7] However, if we try to imagine what it was like on the Akropolis at the time of the Greater Panathenaia, when, during the heyday of the Athenian empire, hundreds of cows would be slaughtered at the altar of Athena, we may suspect that one could only remain a gentleman by letting others do the work.

If for some reason it was impractical to cut the victim's throat immedi-

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[4] E.g. Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonautica* IV 1601: ἐς ὕδατα λαιμοτομήσας.

[5] Pollux, *Onomasticon* I 27: αἱμάσσειν τοὺς βωμούς. Cf. Bakchylides 11, 110-1: τέμενος βωμόν τε τεῦχον, χραΐνόν τέ μιν αἵματι μήλων.

[6] Loukianos, *De sacrificiis* 9: κἂν μὲν θύῃ τις, εὐωχοῦνται (sc. οἱ θεοί) πάντες ἐπικεχηνότες τῷ καπνῷ καὶ τὸ αἷμα πίνοντες τοῖς βωμοῖς περιχεόμενον ὥσπερ αἱ μυῖαι; and 13: ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς αὐτὸς ἕστηκεν ἠμαγμένος καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Κύκλωψ ἐκεῖνος ἀνατέμνων καὶ τὰ ἔγκατα ἐξαίρων καὶ καρδιουλκῶν καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ περιχέων καὶ τί γὰρ οὐκ εὐσεβὲς ἐπιτελῶν;

[7] Theophrastos, *Characteres* 19 (δυσχέρεια), 4: καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἐσθίων ἀπομύττεσθαι· θύων αἱμάξασθαι· προσλαλῶν ἀπορραίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος· ἅμα πιὼν προσερυγγάνειν (I follow Meister's conjecture αἱμάξασθαι).

ately above the altar, the blood was caught in a basin specially provided for that purpose, the so called sphageîon, and subsequently poured over the altar.[8]

An Apulian vase painting of c. 400 B.C. [Fig. 111, V149: Naples 2411] depicts the sacrifice of a young goat to Dionysos. Behind a large altar decorated with a bucranium with fillet stands a woman wearing a fawn-skin over her chiton. She holds the knife in her right hand, supporting the kid with the other, holding it over the altar, on which a small fire burns. Next to the altar, on the right, is a table with an oinochoe on it, towards which a woman approaching from the right brings a basket filled with cakes. A small archaic image of Dionysos with thyrsos and kantharos stands at the altar. In the upper zone, the god "himself", so to speak, relaxes in the company of maenads and a satyr. Such an interesting double presence of the god, both as an old-fashioned cult statue and in a more contemporary manifestation, is not uncommon on South Italian vases, but rarely occurs on Attic ones.[9]

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[8] In Homer, *Odyssey* 3, 444, it is called ἀμνίον, explained by the scholion *ad loc.*: σφαγεῖον· εἰς τοῦτο δὲ πρῶτον αἷμα δεχόμενοι τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐπιχέουσι. See also the mock sacrifice of a wineskin in Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 754-6:

ΓΥ. οἴμοι, τέκνον. δὸς τὸ σφαγεῖον, Μανία,
ἵν' οὖν τό γ' αἷμα τοῦ τέκνου τοὐμοῦ λάβω.
ΚΗ. ὕπεχ' αὐτό· χαριοῦμαι γὰρ ἔν γε τοῦτό σοι.

And the scholia (754): τοῦτο αἱματοδεκτικὸν ἀγγεῖον, ὃ εἶπεν ὁ ποιητὴς ἄμνιον, and (756): τοῦτο ἅμα εἰπὼν ἐκχέει τὸν οἶνον ὁ κηδεστὴς τῷ βωμῷ. (Note that on the Phlyax krater Würzburg MvWM H 5697, with a parody of the scene of Telephos threatening to kill the infant Orestes over an altar, a wineskin is also substituted for the child: *RVAp* 4/4a, I p. 65: Schiller Ptr (375/350 B.C.); Spivey & Rasmussen (eds.) 1991, 166 fig. 68). See also Euripides, *Electra* 800, and *Iphigenia Taurica* 335.

[9] E.g.: Bologna 269, Att. rf. volute-krater, 475/450 (*ARV*² 599/8; *CVA* 5, pl. 97 ff.). — Basel Ludwig 70, Lucanian bell-krater, c. 430/425 (*LCS* 3rd Sup. (1983) 6 nr. 33 a; Schefold & Jung 1981, 153 fig. 202). — Amsterdam 2579, Apul. rf. calyx-krater (frr.), 410/385 (*RVAp* 2/10 ;I p. 36). — Taranto 52265, Apul. rf. calyx-krater, 410/385 (*RVAp* 2/24; I p. 39). — Ruvo Jatta (lost?), Apul. rf. fr., 380/370 (M. Schmidt 1979, 239-248; *EAA* IV 466 fig. 546). — London F160, Apul. rf. volute-krater, 375/350 (*RVAp* 8/8; I p. 193; Schefold & Jung 1989, 293 fig. 255). - Naples 3231, Apul. rf. pelike, 375/350 (*RVAp* 15/29; I p. 401). — Ruvo Jatta 1097, Apul. rf. volute-krater, ca. 350 (*RVAp* 16/16; I p. 417; Sichtermann 1966, nr. 72, pl. 120, 122 b). — Moscow 504, Apul. rf. calyx- krater, c. 340 *RVAp* 18/18; II p. 487; Trendall & Webster 1971, III 3, 30 a). — Saint Petersburg inv. 1715 (St. 420), Apul. rf. volute- krater, 330/320 (*RVAp* 27/18; II p. 863; Trendall & Webster 1971, III 3, 29).

3.2. MEDIUM-SIZED ANIMALS

The tondo of an Attic red figure kylix of the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. [Fig. 112, V144: Cleveland 26.242], offers one of the rare examples of the sacrificial knife (or rather, in this case, sword) actually piercing the throat of the victim. This, however, clearly is an unusual type of sacrifice. The sacrificer, bestriding the ram from behind and drawing its head back with his left hand, much as on the Chalkis relief, is a warrior wearing a helmet. As Jameson saw, this is probably a representation of the *sphágia* on the battlefield, immediately before a battle.[10] Such a sacrifice was not a burnt offering, nor was part of the animal prepared for a meal. Its main point was divination, probably by the flow of blood (which in this vase painting is explicitly indicated by added red).[11] From the vase painter's point of view, choosing a sacrifice of the *sphágia*-type as motif would almost inevitably entail the depiction of the act of *spházein*. Another picture of the battlefield *sphágia,* together with a battle scene, is found on a fragmentary calyx-krater about half a century later [V146: Malibu 86.AE.213].[12]

A picture on an Attic calyx-krater of c. 420 B.C. may be included here [V143: Boston 03.796], although it is debatable whether it really shows the moment of killing. A youth bestrides the victim, in this case a goat, from behind in the by now familiar fashion, holding it by the horns. There is, however, no knife to be seen. The scene is situated in a sanctuary of

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[10] Jameson, in *CVA* Cleveland 1, ad pl. 37, 1.

[11] Cf. the *sphágia* on the occasion of an oath in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 181 ff. and the comments on the colour and the flowing of the blood (or rather the wine used as a surrogate) at 205. On *sphágia* see Ziehen, *RE* IIIA (1929) 1670-1679; Casabona 1966, 180 ff. These battlefield σφάγια are not to be confused with the ἱερά, which were offered earlier, even in camp before setting out, and which entailed ἱεροσκοπία, i.e. divination by inspection of the inner organs, especially the liver, of the victims: see Pritchett 1979, 83 ff. For a thorough and clear treatment of the different types of sacrifice connected with battle, see Jameson, in: Hanson (ed.) 1991, 197-227.

[12] Possible allusion to *sphágia* on battlefield: Att. rf. stamnos *ARV*[2] 361/7: Triptolemos Painter. Aias (?) and Hektor about to engage in a fight, but restrained by Phoinix and Priamos; between them lies a ram with its throat cut, surprisingly named Πάτ[ροκλος] by the vase painter. Various interpretations have been suggested: Schmidt, in: *Opus Nobile. Fests. U, Jantzen* (1969) 141-152; Griffiths, *BICS* 32 (1985) 49-50 and 36 (1989) 139. — Battlefield *sphágia* are also depicted on the reliefs from the so called heroon at Gjölbashi (Trysa, Lycia): Eichler 1950, 62, pl. 19; see also Oberleitner 1994.

Hermes: the god himself stands on the left, and two votive pinakes and a small herm-statuette hang on the wall.

The next two vase paintings are not very straightforward either, as depictions of sacrifice. First there is the fragmentary pelike by the Pan Painter [V394: Malibu 81.AE.62] with on one side Triptolemos between Demeter and Kore, and on the other, as Robertson has convincingly argued, Dionysos and Ikarios.[13] The two themes, the introduction of grain and agriculture on the one hand, and wine and viticulture on the other, go well together.[14] The Ikarios scene appears to have included a sacrifice: there remains a raised hand holding a máchaira, pointing downwards, and probably part of the animal's back.

Also in the Dionysiac sphere belongs a fragment of a late fifth century Attic krater from the Athenian Kerameikos [V142: Athens Ker. 5662]. It was found in Building Z, which according to the excavators may have been, at least in the fourth century, a brothel.[15] What is left of the picture shows a woman wearing a maenad's fawn-skin, holding a knife in her right hand, point down, and with her left restraining a white painted goat. Knigge interprets this as the customary sacrifice of a white goat to Aphrodite Pandemos by a hetaira, which is mentioned by Loukianos.[16]

3.3. Large animals

On a Corinthian alabastron of the first quarter of the sixth century B.C., a bearded man swings a double axe over the head of a huge bull [Fig. 113, V148: Berlin inv. 3419]. There is no explicit indication that a sacrifice is involved, but it can hardly be anything else.

A Caeretan hydria of the last quarter of the same century is more interesting [Fig. 114, V120: Copenhagen NM 13567]. On the left is a blazing altar; a column surmounted by a votive disk or lebes stands next to it. From the right approach a bovine animal whose sex is not indicated, two men and two women. The man in front, on the further side of the head of the ox, holds a double axe with both hands; his head and body are missing. He is followed by a man carrying a lebes (possibly intended as

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[13] Robertson, in: *Greek Vases Getty Mus.* 3 (1986) 71-90.

[14] Cf. Euripides, *Bacchae* 274-85.

[15] Knigge 1988, 88-94; see also Lind, *MusHelv* 45 (1988) 158-169.

[16] Loukianos, *Dialogi meretricii* 7, 1; Knigge, *AM* 97 (1982) 153.

sphageîon) and probably a knife (máchaira). Then come a kanephóros (the kanoûn contains a white substance) and a female pipe-player. We might interpret the scene as a sacrificial procession, but then we would rather expect the kanephóros to walk in front, and furthermore the axe-bearer holds his axe in a rather peculiar way. It seems more likely that the vase painter meant us to see the axe on the down-swing, just before it hits the bent head of the ox.[17] Since at that moment the kanephóros would no longer be carrying the basket on her head, we have to assume that the vase painter conflated different moments of the ceremony into one picture.

Apart from one aspect which will be discussed in the next section, this is the extent of the iconographical evidence regarding the killing of bovine victims, as far as Archaic and Classical Greece is concerned. That there was more to it than hitting the animal with an axe, is clear from some well known sacrificial scenes in Homer. In the third book of the *Odyssey*, first one of Nestor's sons knocks down the bull by hitting its neck with an axe. And after that, they raise it (whether the entire animal or just its head, is not clear from the text) from the ground and hold it up so that another of his sons can cut its throat, and let its blood flow.[18] In the first book of the *Iliad* the phrase αὐέρυσαν ... καὶ ἔσφαξαν is used, and the scholion explains αὐέρυσαν as bending back the neck.[19] What this seems to come down to, is a procedure in two stages: first the animal is knocked down with the axe; then its head is drawn back and its throat is slit with the knife.

We may assume that much of the Homeric method remained in use in later times. Roughly the same two stages are found in later East Greek votive reliefs (though we miss Homer's "bending back of the neck") . These reliefs, mainly from the general area of Kyzikos and Byzantion, and

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[17] Thus Durand, in: Detienne & Vernant (eds.) 1979, 177-8; Hemelrijk 1984, 29-30.

[18] Homer, *Odyssey* 3, 442-3:

πέλεκυν δὲ μενεπτόλεμος Θρασυμήδης
ὀξὺν ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ παρίστατο, βοῦν ἐπικόψων·

448-450:

αὐτίκα Νέστορος υἱός, ὑπέρθυμος Θρασυμήδης,
ἤλασεν ἄγχι στάς· πέλεκυς δ' ἀπέκοψε τένοντας
αὐχενίους, λῦσεν δὲ βοὸς μένος·

453-5:

οἱ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀνελόντες ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
ἔσχον· ἀτὰρ σφάξεν Πεισίστρατος, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν.
τῆς δ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ μέλαν αἷμα ῥύη, λίπε δ' ὀστέα θυμός.

[19] Scholion *Iliad* 1, 459: αὐέρυσαν· εἰς τοὐπίσω ἀνέκλων τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ θυομένου.

ranging from the third or second century B.C. to the second or third century A.D., offer some surprisingly explicit representations of the killing of a bovine victim, and, although they fall outside the chronological scope of this study, they are close enough in time and cultural sphere to merit some attention. On a votive relief to Zeus Olbios, one man holds a rope, which is tied to the horns of the bull and passed through a ring at the base of the altar, while another man holds the axe ready.[20] On another votive relief from the same sanctuary the action has advanced just a little: the bull is tied to the altar ring, and a man swings his axe to hit it.[21]

Several other votive reliefs show the animal, which again may be tied to the ring at the base of the altar, being stabbed in the neck with a long knife.[22] In these latter representations the bull has often partly collapsed, its forelegs having given way, which indicates, I think, that it has been stunned by the axe before.

3.4. The butchers who laughed at Stengel

Few scholars in the field of ancient Greek sacrifice have enjoyed such unchallenged authority for such a prolonged period, as the butchers of the Berlin slaughterhouse who laughed at Stengel, when he inquired about the feasibility of lifting up adult live cows onto the shoulders and then kill them.[23] The reason for his query was, that there appears to be some textual evidence pointing to this practice.

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[20] Berlin inv. 1686: Robert, *OpMinSel* II 1343 f. pl. 28.

[21] Istanbul 1909: Mendel nr. 836; Edhem Bey, *BCH* 32 (1908) 521 ff., pl. 5-6; Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 45.

[22] Bursa 2618: Schwertheim, *IKyzikos* II (1983) 5 nr. 3, fig. 6. — Bursa 2584: Schwertheim, *Ibid.* 24 nr. 20, fig. 19. — Bursa 3160: Schwertheim, *Ibid.* 27 nr. 23, fig. 21. — Istanbul inv. 189: Mendel nr. 854; Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 126. — Istanbul, Mendel nr. 1144. — Istanbul inv. 4407: Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 125 nr. 25, pl. 19, 3 and 38, 2. — Istanbul inv. 5287: *Annual Arch. Mus. Istanbul* 7 (1956) 55, fig. 3. — Whereabouts unknown: Hasluck, *JHS* 24 (1904) 22 fig. 2. — A very similar technique is still used in modern Greek sacrifice: Aikaterinides 1979, pl 5, 1: Spata (Attika) 1971.

[23] Stengel 1910, 115. Still quoted with approval by Denniston in his commentary on Euripides' *Electra* 813 (Oxford ²1954). Ziehen was less impressed, *RE* XVIII 1 (1939) s.v. "Opfer" 610. I can not help imagining the scene with Stengel in the slaughterhouse; would not the butchers have realized that, unless they nipped the whole thing in the bud by deriding the idea of lifting up live bulls or cows, Herr Professor would surely ask them to have a go?

In Euripides' *Electra,* Aigisthos cuts the throat of the young bull after the slaves have lifted it onto their shoulders.[24] This, however, is no adult animal but a *móschos,* though it must have been sufficiently large to provide for a royal feast. In Euripides' *Helena,* a messenger reporting to the king of Egypt about the departure of Menelaos, tells how a bull for sacrifice refused to board the ship, whereupon Menelaos shouted: "Come on, you sackers of Troy, pick up that bull Greek-fashion! Get your shoulders under him and heave him on board!"[25] Here it has been observed, that in this context Menelaos is prepared to say, and the Egyptians to believe, that anything under the sun is a Greek custom.[26] Moreover, strictly speaking both passages from Euripides do not refer to contemporary fifth century sacrificial practice. But Theophrastos has another useful *Character* for us, the Late-learner, who, among other things that are not fit for his age such as competing in a torch race, will throw off his cloak and lift up the bull to cut its throat, when he is invited to take part in a sacrifice at a Herakleion.[27]

The most straightforward texts, however, are some inscriptions referring to the lifting up of bulls by Attic ephebes at Eleusinian festivals.[28]

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[24] Euripides, *Electra* 813-4:
κἄσφαξ' ἐπ' ὤμων μόσχον ὡς ἦραν χεροῖν
δμῶες.

[25] Euripides, *Helena* 1559-1564:
ὁ δ' Ἑλένης πόσις
ἐκάλεσεν· ὦ πέρσαντες Ἰλίου πόλιν,
οὐκ εἶ' ἀναρπάσαντες Ἑλλήνων νόμῳ
νεανίαις ὤμοισι ταὔρειον δέμας
ἐς πρῷραν ἐμβαλεῖτε, φάσγανόν θ' ἅμα
πρόχειρον ὥσει σφάγια τῷ τεθνηκότι;

[26] Denniston ad. loc.

[27] Theophrastos, *Characteres* 27 (ὀψιμαθία), 5: ἀμέλει δὲ κἄν που κληθῇ εἰς Ἡράκλειον <συνθύσων>, ῥίψας τὸ ἱμάτιον τὸν βοῦν αἴρεσθαι, ἵνα τραχηλίσῃ. In the context we may assume that τραχηλίζειν, "doing something to the τράχηλος (neck, throat)", means doing something rather lethal, like cutting it (*pace* Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English lexicon*, and Chantraine, *Dictionaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, s.v.); compare αὐχενίζειν in Sophokles, *Ajax* 298, and such words as κεφαλίζειν and μασχαλίζειν (Liddell-Scott-Jones s.vv.) and Dutch *kelen*.

[28] *IG* II² 1006, 9-10: ἤραντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς βοῦς το[ὺς] | ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τῇι θυσίαι καὶ τοῖς Προηροσίοις καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς. *Ibid.* 78-79: ἐπο[ιήσ]ατο δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄρσεις τῶν βοῶν ἐπάνδρως ἔν τε Ἐλευ[σῖνι τῇι θυσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς Πρ[οηροσίοις· ἦ]ρατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς [βοῦς ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις].
IG II² 1008, 8-9: ἦ[ραν]τ[ο δ]ὲ καὶ τοῖς μυ[στηρί]οι[ς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι [τῇι θυσίαι τοὺς βοῦς καὶ αὐ]τοὶ ἐβουθύτησαν ἐν τῶι [περιβόλωι].
IG II² 1011, 8: ἤραντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς βοῦς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τῇ θυσίαι.

The inscriptions date from the late second and early first century B.C., but that is not important in this case, for if it could be done then, it could be done earlier. And there is, in fact, an inscription dated at 421/420 B.C., having to do with the organisation of a festival in honour of Hephaistos, which also appears to mention (the text is sadly mutilated) the lifting up of bulls by 200 men that the hieropoioí had to elect from the Athenian citizenry.[29] Finally, Pausanias mentions the ritual carrying of a bull at the sanctuary of Dionysos in Arcadian Kynaitha.[30]

These texts were well known, of course, to Stengel. But the derision of the Berlin butchers induced him to interpret αἴρεσθαι τοὺς βοῦς in all these cases as "lifting up the head of the animal, after it had been knocked down, to expose its throat to the knife."

One wonders what he would have made of a vase painting that became known only a few years ago [Fig. 115, V141: Viterbo].[31] It is on an Attic black figure amphora of the third quarter of the sixth century B.C., and it shows how seven bearded men, all naked, have lifted a bull high in the air, literally putting their shoulders under it. Two more men help to hold the animal steady, one on the right by a rope tied to its head, the other on the left by its tail. A bearded man wearing a short chiton plunges the knife into the throat of the victim from below, while a youth holds a wide basin, the sphageîon, underneath to catch the blood, at the same time with his right hand helping to raise the head of the bull.

Another vase painting belongs here too. One side of a red figure kylix of c. 500 B.C. [Fig. 116, V145: Florence 81600] shows some young men grappling with a bull. "Die Epheben zwingen den Opferstier auf die Knie," was what Rumpf saw.[32] But that is not at all what they look like

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IG II² 1028, 10-11: ἤραντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις τοὺς βοῦς | ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τῆι θυσίαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουθύτησαν ἐν τῶι περιβόλωι τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

IG II² 1029, 9: καὶ ἤραντο ταῖς θυσίαις τοὺς βοῦς ε[ὐσχημό]νως. *Ibid.* 16-17: τοῖς τε Προηροσίοις ἤραντο το[ὺς] βοῦς ἐν Ἐλε[υ]σῖνι καὶ ἐλειτούργησαν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι εὐτάκτως].

[29] *IG* I³ 82, 28-30: τὸς δ[ὲ β]οῦ[ς hέκαστον ἀπὸ σάλ]πινγος [προσαγαγὲν πρὸς τ]ὸν βομόν· hοίτιν[ες] δὲ ἀρôνται ἐ[πάνδρος αὐτός, hοι] | ἡ ἱεροποιοῖ[hαιρέσθον] διακοσίος ἐχς Ἀθε[ν]αίον. See also *LS* 13.

[30] Pausanias VIII 19, 2: τὰ δὲ μάλιστα ἥκοντα ἐς μνήμην Διονύσου ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν, καὶ ἑορτὴν ὥρᾳ ἄγουσι χειμῶνος, ἐν ᾗ λίπα ἀληλιμμένοι ἄνδρες ἐξ ἀγελῆς βοῶν ταῦρον, ὃν ἄν σφισιν ἐπὶ νοῦν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ποιήσῃ, ἀράμενοι κομίζουσι πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν. θυσία μὲν τοιαύτη σφίσι καθέστηκε.

[31] This vase painting and its implications were extensively discussed by J.L. Durand in *BdA* 70 (1985) 5-16.

[32] Rumpf 1928, fig. 164.

doing. They are trying to get a hold on the animal to lift it up (one of them already has firmly gripped its tail, as in the previous picture). On the left is a youth in a loincloth, whetting the sacrificial knife. What we have here, is the scene immediately preceding the one on the black figure amphora. The rest of the decoration of this kylix may give us a clue as to the occasion of this sacrifice. On the outside, the reverse shows youths holding whips leading horses, one on horseback, and a trumpeter: obviously preparations for a horse race. The inside tondo has Hephaistos sitting in a winged wheelchair, surely of his own making. He may have borrowed the idea from Triptolemos, but he has reworked the thing into a nicely original design.[33] It seems hard to escape the conclusion, that the vase painter has intended the decoration of this kylix as a coherent whole, the pictures on the outside illustrating a festival in honour of Hephaistos, who is depicted on the inside. This brings us back to the mutilated inscription of 421/420 B.C., recording the lifting of bulls as a feature of a festival in honour of Hephaistos.[34]

Note, however, that on the Florence kylix the bull lifters are beardless youths, probably ephebes, whereas in the inscription they are selected from amongst the Athenians (ἐξ Ἀθηναίων, i.e. probably the adult male citizens). On the Viterbo amphora the bearded bull lifters are clearly adult men.[35] In the Hellenistic inscriptions, on the other hand, bull lifting is typically an ephebic activity, and the context of Theophrastos' passage on the Late-learner suggests that the bull lifters at the Herakleion, which he refers to, would normally also have been young men, as is appropriate anyway, in view of Herakles' connections with the Attic ephebes.[36] A lost vase from the Hamilton collections had a picture of three ephebes manhandling a bull, not in a religious but in an athletic setting.[37] Durand points out that one of these young men, putting his shoulders under the bull's

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[33] For Triptolemos see Schwarz 1987, and on his "chariot" especially Hayashi 1992, 30-67.

[34] See above note 29. It is interesting to note that both in the inscription and on the Florence kylix a trumpet is played; too much should not be made of that, though, since the use of trumpets was not restricted to this festival: cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnenses* 1001.

[35] Cf. the ἄνδρες running the ἀνδρῶν στάδιον on the reverse of the Panathenaic amphora New York MMA 1978.11.13: Neils 1992, 42 fig. 27.

[36] Van Straten, *BABesch* 54 (1979) 189-191.

[37] Tischbein 1791-95, II pl. 3; Reinach 1891, II 88, pl. 78, 8.

head, is closely reminiscent of Herakles wrestling the bull on another Attic red figure vase.[38]

There is no good reason to doubt it: strong Greek men or youths, hindered perhaps by the occasional Late-learner, would lift a bovine victim onto their shoulders in order to have its throat cut. This does not mean that it was the usual practice. It seems more likely that this demonstration of strength was reserved for special festive occasions. Furthermore, we should not forget that the size of domestic cattle in various ages and regions has been far from constant. The average archaic-classical Attic cow may well have been significantly smaller than the cattle that grace our Friesian meadows.[39] Nor should we entirely exclude the possibility, that the animal would be stunned by a blow before being lifted up.

3.5. Human sacrifice

"The Greeks clearly preferred the fiction of human sacrifice to its reality," Henrichs wrote,[40] and this nicely sums up the iconographical situation as well. Apart, perhaps, from one vase painting, which is better left as an unexplained subject,[41] the only human sacrifices depicted are mythical.

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[38] Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 236. Att. rf. calyx-krater in the collection H. Metzger, Boardman *et al.*, Herakles, *LIMC* V (1990) nr. 2352: manner of the Kleophon Ptr (c. 420 B.C.).

[39] Cattle in different parts of ancient Greece might vary greatly in size, even in the same period; see Gejvall 1969, 34; Nobis, in: Kokabi & Wahl (eds.), *Beiträge zur Archäozoologie und prähistorischen Anthropologie. 8. Arbeitstreffen der Osteologen, Konstanz 1993* (1994) 297-313; and cf. Méniel 1992, 51.

[40] In: *Le sacrifice dans l'Antiquité* (*Entretiens Hardt* 27, 1981) 195. On human sacrifice see also Schwenn 1915; Hughes 1991; Bonnechere 1994.

[41] Barcelona 4233-6, fragments of an Attic red figure cup, *ARV*² 492/163: Hermonax. Beazley: "Unexplained subject; a woman attacking another at the altar of Hera, who sits behind it"; the woman who is kneeling to the right of the altar is interpreted as a sacrificial victim by Barberà & Sanmartí 1987, fig. 260: "Ofrenda de una joven ante el altar de una diosa"; it is more likely that she is a suppliant in Hera's sanctuary, as Kossatz-Deissmann, Hera, *LIMC* IV (1988) 718 nr. 493, thinks; Schefold & Jung 1988, 46 fig. 35, are more specific: "Tyro reisst Sidero vom Altar".

The sacrifice of Iphigeneia in Aulis is represented on few vases.[42] She is seen being led to the altar of Artemis on two Attic vases, a white ground lekythos of the first quarter of the fifth century [V396: Palermo 1886], and a red figure oinochoe of c. 430/420 B.C. [V395: Kiel B 538]. Both pictures antedate Euripides' treatment of the subject, and Iphigeneia seems to go less willingly to the altar on the vases than Euripides has her.[43] An Apulian volute krater dated c. 370/340 B.C. has the most interesting picture [Fig. 117, V397: London F 159]. While a bearded man at the altar holds the knife ready for the killing, we witness the exact moment that a hind takes Iphigeneia's place.[44]

Representations of the sacrifice of Polyxena are a little less rare. Usually we see Neoptolemos, sword in hand, leading Polyxena by the wrist towards Achilles' tomb. On an Attic black figure amphora of the "Tyrrhenian Group", however, the actual moment of killing is depicted [Fig. 118, V422: London 97.7-27.2]. Three warriors, named as Amphilochos, Antiphates and Aias (O)iliades, have lifted the girl up and hold her over an altar, on which firewood and a burning fire are indicated.[45] Neoptolemos plunges his sword into her throat, and the blood flows onto the altar. Nestor Pylios, Diomedes, and Phoinix are also present.[46] The same scene may have been painted as early as the second quarter of the seventh century B.C., on a Protoattic krater, of which only fragments survive [V420: Boston 6.67] (though here the victim may be Iphigeneia).[47] We encounter it once more, round the middle of the fifth century B.C., on a Campanian black figure amphora [V426: London B 70].[48]

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[42] Kahil, Iphigeneia, *LIMC* V (1992) 706-729, esp. 708-710. See also Masaracchia, *QuadUrbin* N.S. 14 (1983) 43-77.

[43] Euripides, *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (406 B.C.), 1553 ff.

[44] Cf. [Euripides], *Iphigenia Aulidensis* 1578 ff.

[45] Iphigeneia too, according to Aischylos, *Agamemnon* 231 ff.; Euripides, *Electra* 1022; *Iphigenia Taurica* 26 f., was lifted up and held over the altar (though she is not so depicted in the surviving vase paintings, unless [V420: Boston 6.67] belongs here: see below).

[46] For the inscriptions see Immerwahr 1990, 41 nr. 175.

[47] Vermeule & Chapman, *AJA* 75 (1971) 285-293, opt for Polyxena; Kahil, Iphigeneia, *LIMC* V (1992) 709 nr. 2, has a slight preference for Iphigeneia.

[48] A related type of human sacrifice, the slaughtering of Trojans at Patroklos' pyre, is depicted on an Apulian vase [V414: Naples 3254]; cf. *Iliad* 23, 175-176.

CHAPTER FOUR

POST-KILL

Depending on the type of sacrifice, after the killing the animal would either be burnt whole or discarded in some other way (e.g. thrown into the sea) without any part of it being eaten by humans, or it would be cut up and the various parts of the carcass would be divided among and consumed by the divine and human participants in the ritual.[1] As was noted earlier, sacrifices of the first type, *holókausta* or *thysíai ágeustoi,* are only very rarely depicted. We will come back to them later. Almost all the iconographical material we have for the post-kill phase (vase paintings constitute the overwhelming majority) clearly refers to the second type of sacrifice. As we shall see, it offered the vase painters much more scope for a variety of motifs, and often had the additional attraction of being followed by a festive meal. Inevitably, then, most of what follows deals with sacrifices at which part of the animal was destined for human consumption.

4.1. Opening up the carcass

At the killing, as we have seen, the blood of the animal was, directly or by way of the sphageîon, poured over the altar. We will now look at some vase paintings which illustrate what happened next with the carcass.[2] They all show medium-sized animals (sheep, goat, pig).

A peculiar Attic janiform kantharos of c. 475/450 B.C. is formed of heads of Dionysos and a satyr [Fig. 119, V152: Ferrara T 256 b VP]. Above the heads are red figure pictures: Dionysos reclining, holding a kantharos, and with an amphora at his feet, above Dionysos' head, and the cutting up of a carcass on the side of the satyr's head. The carcass of a he-goat is stretched out on a table, feet in the air. At the head of the animal (on the left) a man in a short chiton, patterned loin-cloth, and shoes (working garb) stoops over it, busy with a knife. On the right a boy,

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[1] Nilsson 1967, 132 ff.; Burkert, in: *Le Sacrifice dans l'Antiquité* (1981) 91-125. See Introduction 1.1.

[2] On the technical points of butchery, Durand, in: Detienne & Verant (eds.) 1979 and Berthiaume 1982 are especially useful.

naked but for his shoes, holds the two hind legs of the goat. A basin in the shape of a bell-krater stands underneath the table, and above it hangs a knife case. The context suggests that the animal is sacrificed to Dionysos.

An Attic black figure pelike of c. 500 B.C. shows the same operation being performed on a sheep [V151: Paris, Fond. Custodia 3650]. In this picture the hind legs are held by a bearded man, and underneath the table is a calyx-krater. The problem with this picture, and with the next one, is, that there is no explicit indication that the animal is a sacrificial victim. We might assume that it is being slaughtered for human consumption only, but that would probably be an anachronistic way of looking at it. There are good reasons to believe that the Greeks derived virtually all their meat (apart from game) from the ritual of sacrifice.[3] It is, therefore, fairly safe to include all depictions of butchery among the sacrificial representations.

An Attic black figure picture on a fragment of a pyxis, c. 530 B.C. [Fig. 120, V150: Bonn 62], takes the procedure one step further. There are now two assistants, one pulling the forelegs forward and the other pulling the hind legs backward, thus stretching the animal on the table (a goat, in this case), while the butcher makes a downward incision in its breast, opening up the thoracic (and abdominal?) cavity.

An Attic black figure skyphos of c. 500 B.C. shows Herakles cutting up a sheep [V379: Athens NM 12626]. On the right is a herm, and a kanoûn stands on its base, so the sacrificial context is clear, though it is hard to see which myth exactly is meant. Herakles does without a table. The sheep lies on its back on the ground, and Herakles clasps its hind legs between his thighs, while making the same incision as on the previous picture. At the head of the animal is a female figure who may be helping, but too much of the vase is lost to be sure (Athena?).

A red figure cup-skyphos of the second quarter of the fifth century again takes us one step further [Fig. 121, V153: Warsaw 142464]. A bearded man and a youthful assistant, both with their himation wrapped round their middle to leave the arms free, are busy with a goat. The animal is stretched out on a table. The youth pulls the hind legs backwards, while the man, standing at the head, has inserted his right arm up to the elbow into the thoracic cavity, presumably to remove the inner organs. The subject on the other side of this cup-skyphos is clearly related: a bearded man pours a libation at a blazing altar, while a youth holds something on a spit in the altar fire.

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[3] Jameson, in: Whittaker (ed.) 1988, 87. See also Berthiaume 1982, 81 ff.

Part of the picture on the "Ricci hydria" also belongs in the present series [Fig. 122, V154: Rome VG]. This black figure hydria from Cerveteri, which deservedly occupies a place of honour in any study on ancient Greek sacrifice, has been attributed to an East Greek vase painter working in Etruria in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.[4] On the shoulder a uniquely elaborate sacrificial scene is painted, framed by vines. The centre is occupied by an altar, on which a fire burns; the point of a thin black object projects above the flames. Three youths hold bits skewered on spits over the fire. From the left a man holding a cup approaches the altar, followed by a pipe-player and a youth carrying an oinochoe and a plate. Further on the left, five young men are working on the carcasses of two animals. On the far left, a pig lies on its back on the ground; a stone or something is shoved under its shoulders, and one man holds up its front-legs while another man, standing at the head, is about to make the incision. The second animal is a goat, stretched out and held suspended by its hind and forelegs by two men, while a third holds the knife ready to cut. Hanging from the vine above the figures on the left of the altar are half a sheep (lacking the hind quarter), and two separate legs. The things that are going on to the right of the altar will be dealt with in a later section.

An Attic black figure column-krater of roughly the same period has a sacrificial scene at a herm [Fig. 123, V160: London B 362]. On the altar a huge fire blazes, and in the fire, placed on the altar, a thin elongated curved object can be discerned. Above it, something on a spit is held in the fire by a man standing on the left of the altar. At his feet on, the ground, is a kanoûn. Behind him, a man is busy with a knife at a table. The cutting up of the animal has now reached an advanced stage: two separate legs hang above the table, underneath it is the head (a goat's head), and on it some unidentifiable part of the carcass.

What we have learned from this series of pictures is, that after the killing the thoracic (and abdominal?) cavity of the carcass is rather carefully opened up with a lengthwise incision, and that some of the inner organs are extracted.[5] At some point the hind quarters, and the hind legs separately, are cut off. By the time the cutting up of the animal has

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[4] Cook & Hemelrijk, *JbBerlMus* 5 (1963) 114; Hemelrijk 1984, 186.

[5] This operation is also depicted on the reliefs of the north wall of the "Heroon" from Gjölbashi (Trysa, Lycia): Eichler 1950, pl. 25. For the date see Borchhardt, *AA* 1970, 383: 380/360 B.C.; Childs, *RA* 1976, 281-316 and Oberleitner 1994, 61: 380/370 B.C.

advanced beyond that stage, some thin piece is already being burned on the altar and bits on spits are being roasted in the altar fire.

4.2. Curly things and bits on spits[6]

A whole series of vase paintings (and one or two other representations) is defined by the common element of the thin elongated object on the altar, curving upwards in the fire, and mostly associated with portions skewered on spits, roasted in the same fire. Sometimes the thin object is subdivided by tiny cross-strokes, and at least in one instance, something rather plump lies beside the thin curving object on the carefully arranged firewood on the altar [Fig. 124, V367: London E 494]. This detailed representation is found on an, unfortunately very incomplete, Attic red figure bell-krater of the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. It depicts the mythical sacrifice of Herakles to Chryse, earlier stages of which we saw in a previous chapter. The archaic cult image and the rustic altar built of rough stones are again in evidence, and in addition there is a tree with votive pinakes hanging from its branches.

How should we identify the thin object and the portions on the spits? The latter are usually interpreted as the *splánchna*, though they are sometimes loosely referred to as pieces of meat or entrails.[7] The thin curved object was identified almost a century ago by Furtwängler as the tail, or tail plus sacrum, of the victim.[8] Several scholars have followed Furtwängler's interpretation.[9] Other eminent authorities in the field of ancient Greek iconography disagreed. Zancani Montuoro took it to be a goat's horn.[10] Metzger suggested that it might be a sort of grill.[11] And recently Erika Simon stated that these thin curved objects were the tongues

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[6] An earlier version of this chapter was presented as a paper at the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June 1986, see Hägg *et al.* (eds.) 1988, 51-68.

[7] E.g. Lezzi-Hafter 1976, at nr. S62; Swaddling 1980, 39; Isler, *MusHelv* 38 (1981) 238 and 240.

[8] FR text at pl. 47.

[9] For instance Beazley, *CVA* Oxford 1, text at pl. 2, 9; Brommer 1959, 29; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-8 (1959-60) 340; Jameson, *Scientific American* 214, 2 (1966) 54; Burkert 1972, 13; Durand, in: Detienne & Vernant (eds.) 1979, 152 f.

[10] Zancani Montuoro, *RIA* 7 (1938) 205-224.

[11] Metzger 1965, 114.

of victims, for, she claims, the ancient sources never mention that the tail of the animal was burnt for the gods.[12] Perhaps it is necessary to look into the matter a little more systematically.

First of all, the bits on spits and the curly object never occur in sacrificial representations of the pre-kill variety, i.e. together with a whole live animal. This, and the series of pictures studied in the previous section, confirms that they are parts of the sacrificed animal. And since it is to be expected that the thin curly object in the altar fire afterwards will not be fit for human consumption by any standard, it may be taken as a portion destined for the god. At some point during the ceremony, it must have been placed on the altar. That moment is probably depicted on an Attic bell-krater of the late fifth century B.C. [Fig. 125, V191: New York 41.162.4]. Two young men stand at a blood-stained altar, on which the firewood is already burning. One of them holds a tray or platter decorated with three sprigs, of the type which in an earlier phase of the ritual we saw sometimes used as a kanoûn. It contains a thin elongated object, painted white, the end of which does not curve upwards, but hangs down over the rim. The bits on spits are held ready by two other youths, at the far left and right of the scene, not yet at the altar. The same moment is captured in an earlier picture, on a bell-krater of c. 450/440 B.C. [Fig. 126, V178: Frankfurt ß 413]. Again there is a strikingly regular pile of firewood burning on the altar, which also has impressive blood stains. A bearded man places a rather amorphous lump on the altar. He has probably taken it from a kanoûn-tray proffered by a small boy, which is decorated with the familiar three sprigs projecting from the rim, and contains a second similar lump. A youth carrying two spits approaches from the left; behind him there are another bearded man and a pipe-player who is not playing. To the right of the altar stands a column supporting a small cult image of Apollo.

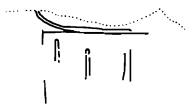
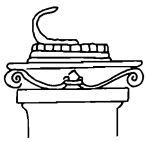
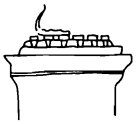
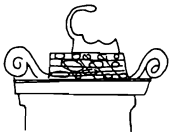
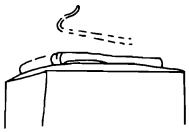
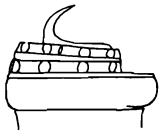
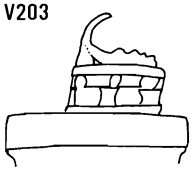
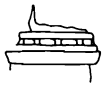
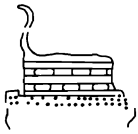
So apparently a thin part of the victim and more lumpy ones were placed on the altar, before the bits on spits were roasted in the fire. Now what are they? The thin elongated object, which is always seen curving upwards in the fire, has the more distinctive shape. Sometimes it does look like a goat's horn. Does that mean that Zancani Montuoro was right?

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[12] Simon, in: Kurtz & Sparkes (eds.) 1982, 125-9. Tongues, in fact, were usually part of the priest's prerogatives: Kadletz, *HarvTheolR* 74 (1981) 21-29.

Here, two objections of a methodological nature are to be made. First, we should not look at just one or two of the representations, but we should take the entire relevant series into consideration. Then we see, that in most cases the object does not resemble a goat's horn at all.

THE GOD'S PORTION ON THE ALTAR

V177 	V381 	V380 	V162 
V198 	V190 	V195 	V205 
Locri Pinax (note 60) 	V179 	V197 	V173 
V165 	V199 	V202 	V203 
V164 	V189 	V188 	V184 

Secondly, it is not wise to try to identify the object by establishing what it looks like *to us*. We should not try to recognize it, taking the visible world as *we* know it as our frame of reference. The Greek vase painters painted these scenes with their contemporary compatriots in mind. It is *their* frame of reference we must try to reconstruct. To identify the thin curved object, we must find out, not merely what it looks like, but 'which of the parts of the victim that were regularly placed on the altar

and burned for the gods while other parts skewered on spits were roasted in the same fire' it looks like. Fortunately the Greeks themselves were rather preoccupied with the unfair distribution of sacrificial animals between gods and men.[13] So there is a considerably body of texts on the subject, which at least go some way in helping us to reconstruct the proper frame of reference.

Let us first return to the sacrificial scene in Aristophanes' *Peace*. We left Trygaios and his slave earlier at the point where they had completed the preliminary rites. Trygaios subsequently orders his slave to take the knife and slaughter the sheep like a professional mágeiros. The slave, however, who seems to know a thing or two, objects that Eirene, contrary to the usual practice, does not appreciate slaughter and blood on her altar.[14] Therefore the slave must kill the animal "indoors", that is backstage (and thus, as Trygaios observes, the choregos will be spared the cost of a real sheep), and take out the thighbones and bring them back to Trygaios.[15] Meanwhile Trygaios himself piles the firewood on the altar, drawing attention to the fact that he does that like a true *mántis* (i.e. like a professional priest versed in divinatory lore), and kindles it, and then goes and gets a table.[16] The slave returns and says: "That's done. Take the thighbones and put them (on the altar). I'll go and get the *splánchna* and the *thulémata*."[17] And a bit later on, when he has returned with these

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[13] Puttkammer 1912; Stengel 1920, 41, 49, 117 f.; Burkert 1972, 13 ff.

[14] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1019-20:

οὐχ ἥδεται δήπουθεν Εἰρήνη σφαγαῖς,
οὐδ' αἱματοῦται βωμός.

[15] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1021-22:

ἀλλ' εἴσω φέρων
θύσας τὰ μηρί' ἐξελὼν δεῦρ' ἔκφερε.

Another excuse to slaughter the animal indoors is found in *Aves* 1056-7 (cf. scholion ad 1057).

[16] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1026:

οὔκουν δοκῶ σοι μαντικῶς τὸ φρύγανον τίθεσθαι;

1033: καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν οἴσομαι.

[17] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1039-40:

ταυτὶ δέδραται. τίθεσο τὼ μηρὼ λαβών·
ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ σπλάγχν' εἶμι καὶ θυλήματα.

These lines should not be attributed to Trygaios, as Van Leeuwen and Platnauer do, but to the slave, as indicated in the manuscripts. Thus the division of tasks between the sacrificer himself and his acolyte is in accordance with what we see in the vase paintings.

things, Trygaios says: "Now roast them well."[18] Then their activities are interfered with by the arrival of a certain Hierokles, a vagrant oracle-monger, or rather charlatan, who tries to impose his professional expertise, and shows a particular interest in those parts of the victim that, at a sacrifice where a priest officiated, would normally fall to the priest. He is not welcome. When Trygaios sees that the slave, by this interference, may be distracted from his task, he says: "You, roast in silence, and keep away from the *osphûs,*" and then he adds: "The tail is doing beautifully."[19]

Some parts of this text may seem a little enigmatic, but fortunately they are clarified by some useful comments in the scholia, which are as follows: "*From the osphûs:* Roast the *splánchna* on the altar in silence. He means keep your spit away from the *osphûs,* that is to say, be careful not to touch it. *The tail is doing:* The tail is giving good signs. For they were accustomed to place the *osphûs* and the tail in the fire, and therefrom by certain signs to infer whether the sacrifice was well received."[20]

When the splánchna on the spits are done, Trygaios says to the slave: "Now pour wine (into a cup) for a libation and bring here some of the splánchna." Then, pouring a libation from the cup, Trygaios says a short prayer, and the audience is invited to share in the consumption of the splánchna.[21]

This text of Aristophanes is very instructive in various ways. On the one hand, it contains much useful information on sacrificial ritual. On the other hand, on closer scrutiny, we see that it is far from constituting a full and detailed record of the proceedings. There was no need for that. The poet would just hint at selected elements, and the audience, familiar with

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[18] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1043: ὄπτα καλῶς νυν αὐτά.

[19] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1053-5:

ὄπτα σὺ σιγῇ κἄπαγ' ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος.
(- - -) ἡ κέρκος ποεῖ
καλῶς.

[20] Scholion Aristophanes *Pax* 1053: ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος· ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ σπλάγχνα ὄπτα ἐν σιγῇ. λέγει οὖν, ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος τὸν ὀβελίσκον ἀπάγαγε. οἷον πρόσεχε μὴ ἅψῃ αὐτῆς· ταύτῃ γὰρ μαντεύονται.
1054: ἡ κέρκος ποιεῖ· ἡ οὐρὰ καλὰ σημαίνει. ἔθος γὰρ εἶχον τὴν ὀσφῦν καὶ τὴν κέρκον ἐπιτιθέναι τῷ πυρὶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν σημείοις τισὶ κατανοεῖν εἰ εὐπρόσδεκτος ἡ θυσία.

[21] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1102:

ἔγχει δὴ σπονδὴν καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων φέρε δευρί.

1115-16:

ἄγε δή, θεαταί, δεῦρο συσπλαγχνεύετε
μετὰ νῷν.

the ritual, would automatically fill in the rest. Thus, the slave is ordered to cut out the thighbones, and when he brings them, he tells Trygaios to put the thighbones on the altar. But further on we learn that there is also the osphûs on the altar, and the tail. That may surprise us, but it would not, if we had known (as surely the audience did) that these together normally constituted the god's portion. And there is another lesson in here: we should not be content to think that this now is the complete list; there may well have been other parts to the god's portion that Aristophanes found no reason to mention. We may hope to assemble a fuller list by studying the rest of the relevant literary texts, which we will now briefly survey in chronological order, but it is not at all certain that we will ever have the complete picture.

In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* first the thighbones are cut out for the gods; they are then wrapped in fat, and pieces of raw meat are placed on them.[22] From the swineherd's sacrifice in *Odyssey* 14, we learn that these pieces of raw meat are bits taken from each part of the body.[23]

Hesiod, in telling about Prometheus' trick, the aetiological myth for the unfair distribution of sacrificial animals, speaks of white bones covered with shining fat. That the bones are qualified as white, indicates that they are just the bare bones, but Hesiod does not specify which ones.[24]

In Aischylos' *Prometheus Bound* (second quarter of the fifth century B.C.), Prometheus sets forth the various fields of divination he has taught mankind. One of these concerns the signs that are observed when the

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[22] Homer, *Iliad* 1, 460-463:

μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον κατά τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν
δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν.
καῖε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζῃς ὁ γέρων.

Odyssey 3, 456-459:

αἶψ' ἄρα μιν διέχευαν, ἄφαρ δ' ἐκ μηρία τάμνον
πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν, κατά τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν
δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν.
καῖε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζῃς ὁ γέρων. See also 12, 360-361 and 17, 241.

[23] Homer, *Odyssey* 14, 427-429:

αἶψα δέ μιν διέχευαν· ὁ δ' ὠμοθετεῖτο συβώτης,
πάντων ἀρχόμενος μελέων, ἐς πίονα δημόν.
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε. On Eumaios' sacrifice see Kadletz, *GrRomByzSt* 25 (1984) 99-105.

[24] Hesiod, *Theogony* 540-541:

τοῖς δ' αὖτ' ὀστέα λευκὰ βοὸς δολίῃ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ
εὐθετίσας κατέθηκε, καλύψας ἀργέτι δημῷ. See also 553 ff. On this much discussed passage see among others Rudhardt, *MusHelv* 27 (1970) 1-15, and Vernant, in: Detienne & Vernant (eds.) 1979, 37-132.

god's portion, comprising limbs covered with fat and the long osphûs, is burnt on the altar.[25] The word κῶλα is less precise than thighbones, but less vague than Hesiod's white bones.

In Sophokles' *Antigone* (442/1 B.C.?), Teiresias' account of a sacrifice where the signs were bad is very instructive: "Forthwith, in fear, I essayed burnt-sacrifice on a duly kindled altar: but from my offerings the Fire-god showed no flame; a dank moisture, oozing from the thighs, trickled forth upon the embers, and smoked, and sputtered; the gall was scattered to the air; and the streaming thighs lay bare of the fat that had been wrapped round them."[26] This is the first time we learn that the gall bladder also falls to the god.

Next come several passages from comedy. In Aristophanes' *Peace,* we already heard about thighbones, osphûs, and tail. Elsewhere he mentions the thighbones lying on the altar,[27] and the gods savouring the smell of the thighbones burning in the fat.[28] In the *Acharnians* we meet a Megarian flogging his daughters, dressed up as piglets, for sacrificial animals, but Dikaiopolis observes that they are not fit for sacrifice since they have no tails.[29]

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[25] Aischylos, *Prometheus Vinctus* 496-499:

κνίσῃ τε κῶλα συγκαλυπτὰ καὶ μακράν
ὀσφῦν πυρώσας δυστέκμαρτον ἐς τέχνην
ὤδωσα θνητοὺς καὶ φλογωπὰ σήματα
ἐξωμμάτωσα πρόσθεν ὄντ' ἐπάργεμα.

[26] Sophokles, *Antigone* 1005-1011:

εὐθὺς δὲ δείσας ἐμπύρων ἐγευόμην
βωμοῖσι παμφλέκτοισιν· ἐκ δὲ θυμάτων
Ἥφαιστος οὐκ ἔλαμπεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σποδῷ
μυδῶσα κηκὶς μηρίων ἐτήκετο
κἄτυφε κἀνέπτυε, καὶ μετάρσιοι
χολαὶ διεσπείροντο, καὶ καταρρυεῖς
μηροὶ καλυπτῆς ἐξέκειντο πιμελῆς.

The translation is Jebb's, slightly adapted.

[27] Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 693.

[28] Aristophanes, *Aves* 190-3 and 1230-3.

[29] Aristophanes, *Acharnenses* 784-5:

ΔΙ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ θύσιμός ἐστιν αὑτηγί.
ΜΕ. σά μάν;
πᾶ δ' οὐκὶ θύσιμός ἐστι;
ΔΙ. κέρκον οὐκ ἔχει.

The scholion on 792 informs us that χοῖρος (piglet) is also used for the genitals of young girls, in case we had not guessed; κέρκος (tail), of course, is also slang for penis; see Henderson 1991, 131 nr. 110 and 128 nr. 92; cf. Kilmer 1993, 140.

In a fragment of a comedy by Aristophanes' contemporary Pherekrates, handed down in a desperately mutilated state by Clemens of Alexandria, a god complains about man's meanness in what he gives to the gods: the two thighbones stripped off all round up to the groin, the osphûs absolutely bare, and the tail-bone by itself.[30]

According to a fragment by Euboulos, a poet of Middle Comedy (c. 375 B.C.), to the gods themselves people only offer tail and thigh, as though to pederasts.[31] At least here it is quite clear why the poet chose to mention only these two components of the god's portion. In another fragment of Euboulos, largely obscured by mutilation, we learn that the fat we heard about in other texts is more precisely the *epipólaion* or *epíploon,* i.e. the *omentum,*[32] regarding which Aristotle has the following information: "The *omentum* is a membrane, formed of suet or lard according to the animal in which it is. (We have already stated which animals contain suet and which lard.) Whether the animal has one stomach or many, the *omentum* is always fastened to the middle of the stomach, on the line marked on it like a seam; and it covers the rest of the stomach and most of the intestines."[33]

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[30] Clemens Alex., *Strom.* 7, 30, 3 (p. 846): ὅ γε κωμικὸς ἐκεῖνος Φερεκράτης ἐν Αὐτομόλοις χαριέντως αὐτοὺς πεποίηκε τοὺς θεοὺς καταμεμφομένους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῶν ἱερῶν· (Pherekrates fr. 28 Kassel-Austin = 23 Kock):

ὅ τι τοῖσι θεοῖς θύετε, πρώτιστ' ἀποκρίνετε - - - - -
τὸ νομιζόμενον †ὑμῶν αἰσχύνηι· τῶ κατ' εἰπεῖν†
εὖ τὼ μηρὼ περιλέψαντες (κομιδῆι) μέχρι βουβώνων - - - -
καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν κομιδῆι ψιλήν, λοιπὸν τὸν σφόνδυλον αὐτὸν
†ὥσπερ ῥινήσαντες νέμεθ' ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς κυσὶν ἡμῖν
εἶτ' ἀλλήλους αἰσχυνόμενοι θυλήμασι κρύπτετε πολλοῖς.

[31] Euboulos fr. 127 Kassel-Austin (=130 Kock):

αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς θεοῖσι τὴν κέρκον μόνην
καὶ μηρὸν ὥσπερ παιδερασταῖς θύετε.

Cf. Henderson 1991, 177 nr. 348; Dover 1978, 98.

[32] Euboulos fr. 94 Kassel-Austin (=95 Kock):

πρῶτον μὲν ὅταν ἐμοί τι θύωσίν τινες
†ταῖμα κύστιν μὴ καρδίαν
μηδὲ ἐπιπόλαιον ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἐσθίω
κλυκείαν οὐδὲ μηρίαν†.

Hesychios s.v. ἐπιπόλαιον· τὸν ἐπίπλουν ὑμένα.

[33] Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 677 b 15: ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐπίπλοον ὑμὴν τοῖς μὲν στέαρ ἔχουσι στεατώδης, τοῖς δὲ πιμελὴν πιμελώδης· ποῖα δ' ἐστὶν ἑκάτερα τούτων, εἴρηται πρότερον (sc. 651 a 26 ff.). ἥρτηται δὲ τὸ ἐπίπλοον ὁμοίως τοῖς τε μονοκοιλίοις καὶ τοῖς πολυκοιλίοις ἀπὸ μέσης τῆς κοιλίας κατὰ τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην οἷον ῥαφήν· ἐπέχει δὲ τό τε λοιπὸν τῆς κοιλίας καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐντέρων πλῆθος.

Finally, Menander's bad-tempered man gives vent to his annoyance with the party who is preparing a sacrificial feast in the sanctuary of the Nymphs next door: "Look at these thieves, at their sacrifice! They bring in beds, wine by the cask—for their own pleasure, not the gods'. A bit of incense makes a pious gift, or a cake; you offer it in one piece on the altar, and it all goes to the god. Those gentry there offer the gods the inedible scraps—the extreme part of the osphûs and the gall bladder—and guzzle down all the rest themselves."[34] Another comic poet put it yet more strongly: the god's portion was not just inedible by human standards; even hungry dogs would not have it.[35]

The main points are assembled in the table below. What the gods get are mainly inedible parts: thighbones (just the bare bones, that is, which have been cut out, and are characterized as "white" and "without flesh"), wrapped in fat (more precisely the *omentum*); the osphûs (also absolutely bare) and tail; and the gall bladder.

Incidentally, such a tabulation of data may be as misleading as it is neat. One gets the impression that the only edible part the gods received in Homer, the pieces of raw meat indicated by the verb ὠμοθετεῖν, were later withheld from them. This impression, however, may be wrong. In many of the literary testimonia after Homer, especially in comedy, the point is precisely the meagreness of the god's portion.[36] This literary cliché may well have generated a sort of self-fulfilling selectivity.

Cult practice was probably less uniform. In any case, there is epigraphical evidence for pieces of meat being laid on the altar, together with the thighbones.

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[34] Menander, *Dyscolus* (316 B.C.) 447-453:

ὡς θύουσι δ' οἱ τοιχωρύχοι·
κοίτας φέρονται, σταμνί', οὐχὶ τῶν θεῶν
ἕνεκ' ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν. ὁ λιβανωτὸς εὐσεβὲς
καὶ τὸ πόπανον· τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ
ἅπαν ἐπιτεθέν. οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀσφῦν ἄκραν
καὶ τὴν χολήν, ὅτι ἔστ' ἄβρωτα, τοῖς θεοῖς
ἐπιθέντες αὐτοὶ τἆλλα καταπίνουσι.

The translation is Ph. Vellacott's, slightly adapted. See also *Samia* 399-402; *Methe* fr. 264 Koerte (= 319 Kock), 11-13.

[35] Kock, *CAF* III, p. 606, Adesp. 1205:

τίς ὧδε μῶρος καὶ λίαν ἀνειμένως
εὔπειστος ἀνδρῶν, ὅστις ἐλπίζει θεοὺς
ὀστῶν ἀσάρκων καὶ χολῆς πυρουμένης,
ἃ καὶ κυσὶν πεινῶσιν οὐχὶ βρώσιμα,
χαίρειν ἀπαρχαῖς καὶ γέρας λαχεῖν τόδε;

[36] See Burkert 1972, 14 f.; also Burkert 1985, 57; Forster 1952.

THE GOD'S PORTION				
Homer	μηροί κνίση	ὠμοθετεῖν		
Hesiod	ὀστέα λευκά δημός			
Aischylos	κῶλα κνίση		μακρὰ ὀσφῦς	
Sophokles	μηρία πιμελή			χολαί
Aristophanes	μηρία/μηρώ κνῖσα		ὀσφῦς κέρκος	
Pherekrates	μηρώ		ὀσφῦς ψιλή σπόνδυλος	
Euboulos	μηρός ἐπιπόλαιον		κέρκος	
Menander			ὀσφῦς ἄκρα	χολή

A cult regulation from the Attic deme Phrearrhioi, partly preserved in an inscription of the third century B.C., prescribes that during sacrifice to Demeter and Kore *maschalísmata* should be put on the altar beside the thighbones.[37] *Maschalísmata* are defined by ancient lexicographers as "pieces of meat from the shoulders that are laid on the altar beside the thighbones in sacrifices to the gods."[38]

The somewhat lumpy parts that we saw in some vase paintings, either lying on the altar beside the thin curved object [V367: London E 494], or being placed on the altar [V178: Frankfurt ß 413], may have been meant

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[37] Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 39 (1970) 47-53; *SEG* 35 (1985) 113 and 36 (1986) 206; line 15-17: ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς βωμοὺ[ς ---]ι μηροὺς μασχαλίσματα ἡμίκ<ρ>α[ιραν --- μ]ηροὺς μασχαλίσματα ἡμίκραιρ[αν ---]. The restorations proposed by Sokolowski, *GrRomByzSt* 12 (1971) 217-220, are arbitrary and do not make much sense. On the nature of this text see also Osborne 1985, 251 note 39 and Whitehead 1986, 205, 361 and 386.

[38] *Souda* s.v. μασχαλίσματα· σημαίνει δὲ ἡ λέξις καὶ τὰ τοῖς μηροῖς ἐπιτιθέμενα ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων κρέα ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν θυσίαις. Cf. also Photios and Hesychios. It appears from Eustathios, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem et Odysseam* 134, 33, that there was some confusion regarding the derivation of ὠμοθετεῖν from either ὠμός (raw) or ὦμος (shoulder; this obviously does not make much sense in Homer, *Odyssey* 14, 427-429). I wonder whether the latter, incorrect etymology of ὠμοθετεῖν, could have given rise to a narrowing down of the rite to the μασχαλίσματα.

as pieces of meat too, although they could probably just as well be taken as the thighbones wrapped in the fatty *omentum*. On the scale of the average vase painting, we can hardly expect an unmistakably distinctive depiction of such rather amorphous shapes. And the same goes for the gall bladder. It has been argued that the gall bladder is depicted on an interesting Attic calyx-krater in the Hermitage, dated to the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. [Fig. 127, V204: Saint Petersburg 1658]. Three bearded men on the left, one seated and two standing, watch a scene of sacrifice. On the right is an altar on which firewood and fire are indicated. Behind the altar stands a youth holding a tray-shaped kanoûn decorated with three sprigs, and containing a flat rectangular object. A boy, standing on the right, holds a spit over the altar. To the left of the altar, on its projecting base, stands a bearded man, who holds a smallish roundish object in his right hand over the altar. Jameson's interpretation of this object as an ox's gall bladder, being squeezed by the officiant, to squirt bile into the fire for divinatory purposes, is attractive.[39] There seems to be no real objection to it, apart from the fact that the shape of the object is not distinctive enough to make the interpretation anything more than possible. Here too, it might just be a piece of meat.

Osphûs

But before we return to the vase paintings depicting the god's portion, we first have to establish what exactly, in this context, the word osphûs refers to. Since it may be specified, like the thighbones, as absolutely bare, it must be part of the skeleton. But which part is it? Careful study of the word in ancient medical and anatomical literature and lexica shows that it was used in slightly varying senses. It may stand for the whole pelvic girdle, comprising the sacrum and the *ossa innominata*.[40] Or, alternatively, it may indicate the extreme posterior part of the spine, that is the tail and the sacrum, with or without the lumbar vertebrae.[41] In short, one

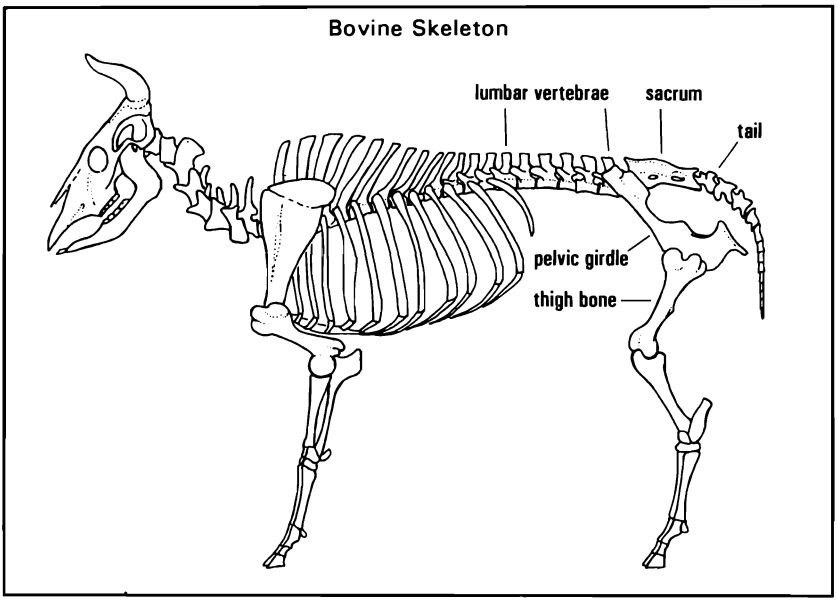
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[39] Jameson, in: M. Cropp *et al.* (eds.), *Greek tragedy and its legacy. Essays presented to D.J. Conacher* (1986) 59-65; I suspect that a little wishful thinking may have crept in where Jameson interprets the scene even more precisely as an illustration of Sophokles, *Antigone* 1005-1022.

[40] Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 493 a 22: τῶν δ' ὄπισθεν διάζωμα μὲν ἡ ὀσφῦς, ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομ' ἔχει (δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι ἰσοφυές).

[41] Pollux, *Onomasticon* II 178: ἑπτακαίδεκα δέ εἰσιν οἱ σφόνδυλοι τὴν συγκαμπὴν τῇ ῥάχει παρέχοντες, δύο μὲν καὶ δέκα ῥάχεως, οὓς ὀνομάζουσι ῥάχεις, πέντε δὲ ὀσφύος. II 182: ἵνα δὲ οἱ σφόνδυλοι καταλήγουσιν, ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν καλεῖται·

might say, the osphûs is the sacrum plus one or more parts of the skeleton connected to it.[42]



In our texts the osphûs sacrificed to the gods is qualified as ἄκρα or μακρά ("the extreme part" or "long"), so we should presumably take it as mainly the tail and the sacrum or, to use the Greek idiom, the ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν, which of course was called ἱερόν for the same reason that sacrificial loaves were called ἱεροὶ ἄρτοι.[43]

καὶ ἄρχεται μὲν ἐξ εὐρύτητος ὑπὸ τὴν ῥάχιν, ἀποστενοῦται δὲ κατὰ τὸν κόκκυγα καλούμενον, ὃς καὶ σφονδύλιον καὶ ὀρροπύγιον ὀνομάζεται. οὗ τὸ ὑπεράνω ὀσφῦς. Rufus Ephesius, *Περὶ ὀνομασίας τῶν κατ' ἄνθρωπον μορίων* 114: τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ὀστοῦν τῆς ὀσφύος ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν· οἱ δὲ ὑποσφόνδυλον καλοῦσι· τὸ δὲ ἄκρον αὐτοῦ, κόκκυγα. Note that both texts refer to the human skeleton.

[42] It should be noted that ὀσφῦς may also be used for the fleshy part of the loins, e.g. when in sacrificial regulations it is included among the perquisites of the priest or the mágeiros; similarly, in that context, μηροί and μηρία probably stand for the thighs *minus* the bones. See *LSA* 59 (Iasos, 4th century B.C.), 1-2: ὁ ἱερεὺς (- - -) λαμβανέτω δὲ τῶν θυομένων σκέλος ἕν, ὁποῖον ἂν θέλῃι, σὺν [τῆι] ὀσφύι, ὡς ἐκ[τέμν]εται ἡ ὀσ[φ]ῦς. In *LSA* 46 (Miletus, c. 300 B.C.), 2-3, 6, the *osphûs* received by the priest is qualified as δασέαν ("thick with flesh"). See also *LSA* 50, 34; *LSS* 93; *LS* 96, 14.

[43] See *Etymologicum Genuinum* s.v. ὀσφῦς; *Etymologicum Gudianum* s.v. ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν, κυρίως τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὀσφῦν τῶν ἱερείων ὀστέα δ. ταύτα ἐπετίθεσαν ταῖς θυσίαις (it is not clear which bones exactly, adding up to a total of four, are here supposed to be included); and s.v. ἱερὸν ὀστέον, τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ὀσφύος (- - -) ὅτι

The only component of the god's portion as attested in literature, with which the curved elongated object depicted in the fire on the altar in several vase paintings can plausibly be identified, is the tail with sacrum attached to it, i.e. the osphûs. On a krater in New York, we have seen it hanging limply over the rim of the kanoûn-tray in which it is brought to the altar [V191: New York 41.162.4], but usually it is seen curling up in the heat of the altar fire, as an animal tail will do when properly placed.[44]

In three vase paintings, probably inspired by a satyr-play, this part of the god's portion is shown in yet another context.[45] Iris, who apparently was sent by the other gods to collect their portion of the sacrifices from the altars, is seen holding the tail in her hand while being molested by satyrs.[46] On a kylix by the Brygos Painter [Fig. 128, V402: London E 65], the tail has a slightly broader piece at the lower end, which must be the sacrum. In another, somewhat later, picture of the same incident, on the tail held by Iris the separate caudal vertebrae are again indicated by tiny cross-strokes [Fig. 129, V400: Berlin F 2591].[47]

Some real bones

Valuable new information has become available by Reese's recent careful study of the remains of burnt animal bones, found in the fill within the monumental altar on the north side of the Athenian Agora.[48] The altar, attributed to Aphrodite Ourania, was first built about 500 B.C., damaged (perhaps by the Persians in 480 B.C.), and eventually repaired c. 430/420

ἱερουργεῖται τοῖς θεοῖς. Μένανδρος· οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀσφῦν ἄκραν θύσαντες. The reference is to Menander, *Dyscolus* 451-453, with θύσαντες substituted for ἐπιθέντες. See also the *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. ἱερὸν ὀστοῦν.

[44] This was shown, in a marvellous piece of experimental archaeology, by Jameson; see *Scientific American* 214, 2 (1966) 54.

[45] Brommer 1959, 29.

[46] In Aristophanes' *Aves* 1230 ff., it is also Iris who is sent by Zeus to inquire about the withholding of sacrifices.

[47] Also [V401: Boston 08.30a]. Riezler 1914, 8 fig. 7, saw another Iris with *osphûs* on the Attic white ground lekythos Munich 2776; comparison, however, with the Erinys handling snakes on the lekythos in the collection Ludwig, Berger & Lullies (eds.) I, 1979, 164 nr. 60, rather seems to favour a similar interpretation for the figure on the Munich lekythos.

[48] Reese, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 63-70; there is a very useful survey of other finds of burnt bones on altars or in sanctuaries at p. 69-70. The preliminary report on the Agora bones by Foster, *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 73-82, should be disregarded.

B.C. The fill containing the animal bones may either have gradually gathered within the orthostates in the interval between the destruction and the repair, or may have been intentionally brought in when the repairs were undertaken.[49]

Analysis has shown that by far the majority of the burnt bone fragments come from sheep and goat, and that (caudal) vertebrae and thigh-bones are particularly numerous. This would suggest that we have here mainly the remains of the god's portion burnt on the altar. Another observation by Reese is worth quoting: "It is quite clear that the bones were burnt 'green', or flesh covered. Burning bones in this condition (as opposed to dry or defleshed bone) creates transverse fracture lines, cracking, checking, irregular longitudinal splitting, and marked warping or twisting. Such evidence is commonly seen on the bones from this altar."[50] Here, then, is another piece of evidence that the gods' portions were not always quite as bare as the comic poets would have us believe (unless the effect noted by Reese could also have been produced by the bones being burnt wrapped in the *omentum*).

Splánchna

The portions skewered on spits and roasted in the fire on the altar, while the god's portion is being burnt, were identified in the testimonia above as the *splánchna*. A complete set of splánchna would include, according to Aristotle, heart, lungs, liver, spleen, and kidneys.[51] When the splánchna were done, they were cut in pieces, distributed among those participating in the sacrifice, and immediately consumed on the spot, while still warm.[52] But not only the human participants ate a part of the splánchna: the god,

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[49] T.L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 1-57, esp. 24-33.

[50] Reese, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 64. Dr. Reese kindly informs me that my alternative explanation of the effect he describes (the bones having been burnt wrapped in the fatty *omentum*) is equally acceptable.

[51] Aristotle, *De partibus animalium* 665 a 28: ἑπόμενον δ' ἐστὶ περὶ σπλάγχνων εἰπεῖν. He then successively deals with heart (καρδία 665 b 6 ff.), lung (πλεύμων 668 b 33 ff.), liver and spleen (ἧπαρ, σπλήν 669 b 26 ff.), kidneys (νεφροί 671 a 27 ff.), and summarizes in 672 b 8: περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς καρδίας καὶ πλεύμονος εἴρηται, καὶ περὶ ἥπατος καὶ σπλῆνος καὶ νεφρῶν. τυγχάνει δὲ ταῦτα κεχωρισμένα ἀλλήλων τῷ διαζώματι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ διάζωμα καλοῦσί τινες φρένας· ὃ διορίζει τόν τε πλεύμονα καὶ τὴν καρδίαν.

[52] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1059: κατάτεμνε. Scholion on 1069: ἐσθίοντες γὰρ τὰ σπλάγχνα θερμὰ ὄντα etc.

to whom the sacrifice was offered, received a portion as well. This is clear from two passages in Aristophanes. In the *Birds*, since the city in the clouds was built, the gods' portions of the sacrifices can no longer reach them. What they miss are, among other things, parts cut from the splánchna.[53] And in a somewhat similar situation in the *Plutus* (the redistribution of wealth by Ploutos, who has regained his eyesight, has caused people to stop sacrificing to the gods), Hermes regretfully remembers the warm splánchna he used to gobble up.[54]

How, in actual ritual, a portion of the splánchna would be given to the god, is a matter of conjecture. It may have been thrown into the still burning fire on the altar. But in Aristophanes' *Birds* we are told of the custom of placing the splánchna literally in the hands of the gods.[55] For this to be possible, there would have to be present a cult statue of the god such as Aristophanes describes elsewhere, with its hand outstretched, palm upwards, in an appropriately greedy fashion.[56] Outside Athens, a similar custom is attested in some *leges sacrae* from Chios. They mention "splánchna into the hands" or more often "splánchna into the hands and onto the knees" (which eventually would fall to the priest).[57] The splánchna that were placed on the knees would require a seated cult

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[53] Aristophanes, *Aves* 1515 ff.:
ἐξ οὗπερ ὑμεῖς ᾠκίσατε τὸν ἀέρα.
θύει γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ἔτι
θεοῖσιν, οὐδὲ κνῖσα μηρίων ἄπο
ἀνῆλθεν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου,
ἀλλ' ὥσπερεὶ Θεσμοφορίοις νηστεύομεν
ἄνευ θυηλῶν, and 1523-24:
εἰ μὴ παρέξει τἀμπόρι' ἀνεῳγμένα,
ἵν' εἰσάγοιτο σπλάγχνα κατατετμημένα.

[54] Aristophanes, *Plutus* 1130:
σπλάγχνων τε θερμῶν ὧν ἐγὼ κατήσθιον.

[55] Aristophanes, *Aves* 518-9:
ἵν' ὅταν θύων τις ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν χεῖρ', ὡς νόμος ἐστίν,
τὰ σπλάγχνα διδῷ.

[56] Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 778-783:
οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ λαμβάνειν
ἡμᾶς μόνον δεῖ νὴ Δία. καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεοί·
γνώσει δ' ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν γε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων·
ὅταν γὰρ εὐχώμεσθα διδόναι τἀγαθά,
ἕστηκεν ἐκτεινοντα τὴν χεῖρ' ὑπτίαν
οὐχ ὥς τι δώσοντ' ἀλλ' ὅπως τι λήψεται.

[57] *LSS* 129, 4-6: σπλάγχνα ἐς γόνατα καὶ ἐς χέρας; *LSS* 77, 6-7: σπλάγχνα τὰ εἰς χεῖρας καὶ γούνατα; see also *LSS* 76, 4; 78, 6; *LS* 119, 4; 120, 2. Graf 1985, 40-41, supersedes previous discussions of the subject.

image. Many cult images held a phiale in the outstretched right hand, which would make a convenient receptacle for the "splánchna into the hands."[58] On a very battered fragment of a votive relief from the Athenian Asklepieion, one worshipper, according to Svoronos' description, puts something into the phiale that the seated goddess holds in her hand.[59] If this description is correct, we might have a unique picture here of such a deposition of the splánchna, but the deplorable condition of the relief makes it impossible to be certain. Between the goddess and the worshipper there appear to be slight traces of a thymiaterion, so perhaps the worshipper is putting incense in the bowl of this thurible.

Osphûs and splánchna

Now that we are familiar with the main elements of the ritual at the altar after the killing of the victim, i.e. the god's portion and the splánchna, we may return briefly to some of the vase paintings described in the previous section. It is now clear that the lengthwise incision made in the animal stretched out on its back, had the purpose of making the extraction of the splánchna possible, as is particularly clearly illustrated on the cup-skyphos in Warsaw [V153: Warsaw 142464]. On the Ricci hydria [V154: Rome VG] we saw half a sheep hanging from the vines; its hind quarter is missing, as a result of the cutting out of the osphûs and the thighbones. The two separated legs, also hanging from the vines, recur on an Attic krater [V160: London B 362]: they are the two hind legs with the thighbones removed.

Both the Ricci hydria and the London krater belong to the series depicting the osphûs being burnt on the altar while the splánchna are being roasted. We shall now look in a little more detail at the representations which have one or both of these two components.

The osphûs with the tail curving upwards is depicted in something over 30 representations, mostly (in about two thirds of the cases) together with the splánchna on spits. Representations of splánchna without osphûs are about twice as numerous as those depicting osphûs without splánchna. Almost all the relevant pictures are found on vases, with two exceptions:

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[58] E.g. Attic red figure squat lekythos Oxford 1966.714, *ARV*² 1325/51: manner of the Meidias Painter; *Beazley Gifts* (1967) nr. 277; *LIMC* II Aphrodite 44.

[59] Athens NM 1368: Svoronos 287, pl. 45, 3; *Einzelaufnahmen* 1233; Hausmann 1948, 176 nr. 124.

a terracotta votive relief from Locri Epizephyrii of c. 475/450 B.C.,[60] and a marble votive relief from Rhamnous with a rather doubtful osphûs [R47: Rhamnous 102]. The vase paintings range from the second half of the sixth to the early fourth century B.C. The shape of the osphûs varies within reasonably narrow bounds. Basically it is a thin elongated object, with one end curving upwards like the crook of a walking-stick or a shepherd's staff; sometimes the curve is slightly S-shaped. Variations in the rendering might in principle indicate different species of animals, but on the whole, I think, they should rather be attributed to the idiosyncrasies of the various vase painters. Not surprisingly the two earliest representations are least canonical: on the black figure London krater [V160:London B 362] the osphûs forms a rather large loop; on the Ricci hydria [V154: Rome VG] only the end projecting above the sacrificial fire is shown. It is interesting that in a considerable majority of the representations the carefully arranged firewood is conspicuous, reminding us of the importance attached to this point by Trygaios in Aristophanes' *Peace*.[61]

Several vase paintings give a sort of synopsis of the various elements that played a part in the osphûs-splánchna phase of the ritual, as we encountered them in that comedy. Two Attic red figure stamnoi, probably from the same workshop (they are attributed to Polygnotos and his group, respectively), and painted perhaps ten or twenty years before Aristophanes' *Peace*, have very similar compositions [Fig. 130, V185: London E 455; Fig. 131, V186: London E 456]. To the left of the altar, on which the osphûs is clearly visible on the burning firewood, stands a bearded man, who raises his left hand in prayer. He is about to make a libation with a cup he holds in his right hand, and into which a Nike hovering above the altar pours from an oinochoe (restored on E 455). On the right are two naked young splanchnóptai. One holds his spit in the fire (almost touching the upward curving end of the osphûs, which he should not do, as Trygaios warned his slave); the other one, behind him, is not roasting, for the moment, and holds his spit upright. On the far right is a young man playing the auloi. Trygaios had managed to do without a pipe-player, but otherwise we are on familiar ground: splánchna being roasted while the osphûs is burnt on the carefully arranged firewood, libation and

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[60] Reggio (Cal.) MN: Zancani Montuoro, *RIA* 7 (1938) 205-224, Pl. I; Prückner 1968, 17-19, Typ 2.

[61] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1026 (see above note 16).

prayer.[62] On one of the London stamnoi, the name of the bearded officiant is inscribed as Archenautes [V185: London E 455],[63] on the other one he is called Diomedes [V186: London E 456]. A third stamnos, attributed to Polygnotos, again has Diomedes as sacrificer [Fig. 132, V179: Gotha 51].[64] There are some differences with the London stamnos: Diomedes holds a phiale instead of a kylix; there is only one splanchnóptes, wearing a loin-cloth and crouching on the left of the altar, in front of the officiant; and on the right the recipient of the sacrifice, Apollo (also with his name inscribed) is depicted, holding a lyre. The fact that in all three pictures Nike performs part of the tasks of the acolytes would suggest that these sacrifices were offered on the occasion of some victory.

About half a century earlier, within the limited compass of the inside tondo of a kylix by Makron [Fig. 133, V198: Palermo V 661 a], the main components are already there. The officiant is characterized as a priest by his long ornate robe.[65] He raises his left hand in the direction of the altar, where the osphûs burns in the fire, and holds a kantharos for libation in his right hand. The splanchnóptes here rather exceptionally is a bearded man in a loin-cloth, squatting next to the priest.

Still earlier, in the late sixth century B.C., a similar iconography is used for a mythical sacrifice [Fig. 134, V381: Berlin inv. 3232]. Herakles, who has donned a sacerdotal robe over his lion-skin, pours a libation from a kantharos onto the altar, raising his left hand. A satyr acts as splanchnóptes. We do not know, which of Herakles' many adventures occasioned this sacrifice, but there may be a connection intended with the picture on the outside of the same kylix, showing Herakles preceded by

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[62] Osphûs, splánchna, libation and gesture of prayer or presentation are combined on [V381: Berlin inv. 3232; V198: Palermo V 661 a; V185: London E 455; Gotha 51; V186: London E 456; V165: Athens NM 14501; V171: Catania 9.418; V199: Paris Louvre G 402; V182: Laon 37.1041; V203: Ruvo 1093; V187: London E 504].

[63] On London E 455, in addition to the name Ἀρχεναύτης written above the head of the sacrificer, there are also the names Νικόδημος (which may belong to one of the splanchnóptai) and Σοσιϝος (? miswritten) next to the pipe-player. See Immerwahr 1990, 110-111 nr. 761, for possible identifications with historical figures.

[64] On London E 456, Διομέδες and Νίκε are inscribed (Immerwahr 1990, 111 nr. 762). The inscriptions on Gotha 51 are Διομέδες above the sacrificer, [Ἰ]όλεος (?) above the splanchnóptes, and Ἀπόλλον above the god. The slight remains of letters over the Nike do not warrant the observation by Webster 1972, 51, that she is labelled [Pyth]ia; see E. Rohde at *CVA* Gotha 2, pl. 56-8. Webster suggests a possible historical identification for Diomedes.

[65] Mantes 1990.

Hermes leading Kerberos out of the Underworld. The capture of Kerberos may also be the context of another representation of Herakles sacrificing, on an early fifth century black figure lekythos [Fig. 135, V380: New York 41.162.29]. In this case Herakles himself holds the spits with splánchna over the fire. The scene is situated at the end of the world by the presence of Night, Sun, and Dawn.[66]

The synoptic representations (osphûs, splánchna, libation, prayer) persist throughout the fifth century. On an oinochoe of the last quarter of that century the painter has succeeded in creating some depth in the representation [Fig. 136, V199: Paris Louvre G 402]. The altar and the firewood on it are rendered in perspective, and the osphûs, painted in diluted glaze, is clearly distinguished amidst the flames, which are done in added white. There is another less successful attempt at perspective by the same painter [V172: Copenhagen NM 4996].

The officiant, almost always a bearded man,[67] usually raises his left hand in prayer. In some instances he points his opened left hand downwards towards the altar and what is on it, in what is best understood as a gesture of presentation, well illustrated by a krater in London [Fig. 137, V187: London E 504].[68]

The god to whom the sacrifice is offered, is depicted or at least indicated in only a minority of the vase paintings of the present series. We already met Apollo once [R179: Gotha 52]. He may be hinted at by the presence of a tree, which may well be a laurel tree, on two pelikai by the Academy Painter [Fig. 138, V165: Athens NM 14501; Fig. 139, V171: Catania 9.418]. But he is again fully there, with laurel branch and lyre, on a krater at one time on the market in Basel [Fig. 140, V208: Art market]. This vase has a rather elaborate sacrificial scene, which, in addition to Apollo himself, comprises two tripods. There are two splanchnóptai, and a youthful officiant pouring a libation. The altar is set on a high stepped base, and has an impressive pile of firewood. There is, however, no osphûs to be seen. In this and other cases where we do not see the god's portion on the altar, it may simply have not been depicted by the vase painter, who chose to focus on other aspects of this phase of the ritual. On

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[66] Inscriptions: Νύκς, hÉλιος, hÉος, hΕρακλêς. For the interpretation see Pinney & Ridgway, *JHS* 101 (1981) 141-144.

[67] Exceptions: [V181: Kiel B 54; V182: Laon 37.1041; V184: Lisbon 11257; V187: London E 504; V199: Paris Louvre G 402].

[68] For the gesture of presentation cf. the votive reliefs [R10: Athens NM 1335; R98: Athens 1st Eph.].

the other hand, at least in some cases it may originally have been there, painted on in added colour (as was sometimes done), which flakes off relatively easily and may leave no trace that is visible on a black and white photograph.[69]

In one instance, the find circumstances may help us to determine, whom the sacrifice was meant for. In the dromos of the Mycenaean tholos tomb in Menidi (Acharnai, Attika), ample evidence was found that this was the centre of a hero cult from the Late Geometric down to the Classical period.[70] The finds include fragments of black and red figure vases with representations of sacrificial processions.[71] On one of two fragments of a red figure kantharos, a blood-stained altar is depicted, on which lies an osphûs; the other fragment preserves part of a kline and a table [Fig. 141, V162: Athens NM]. Since both the latter representation and the shape of the vase (kantharos) are singularly appropriate to the cult of a hero, it is perhaps not too farfetched to take this as a special commission, specifically decorated with a view to its use in this cult. If this proposition is accepted, it constitutes interesting additional evidence for a hero sacrifice wherein the worshippers shared the victim with the deity.[72]

Another rather special vase, where the recipient deity may have been immediately clear to the contemporary Athenians, though less so to us, is a late fifth century krater in London [Fig. 142, V188: London BM 98.7-16.6]. It obviously celebrates a victory in a torch race.[73] Two young men with the characteristic spiked headdress frame the picture on both sides. Next to an altar, with firewood burning and the osphûs vaguely visible in the flames, stands a third figure with the torch racer's headdress, holding the torch with which the fire on the altar must have been kindled. This one, however, is bearded, and he has the word ANTIOX inscribed on his head band. The inscription may be completed either as Ἀντιοχ(ίς sc. φυλή), referring to the tribe of the victorious torch racers, or more likely Ἀντίοχ(ος), identifying the bearded man as the eponymous hero of that

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[69] Osphûs in added red or white: [V174: Dijon 1223; V190: Naples 127 929; V188: London 98.7-16.6].

[70] Wolters, JdI 14 (1899) 103 ff. Coldstream, JHS 96 (1976) 11.

[71] Attic black figure amphora (fr.): *JdI* 14 (1899) 106 fig. 8. Attic red figure kantharos (fr.), Athens NM 2038, *ARV*² 558/142: Pan Painter.

[72] See below 5.4.

[73] An earlier moment in the ceremony is depicted on [V170: Cambridge, Ma., 1960.344]: two torch racers arrive at the altar, on which the osphûs is barely visible; see Neils 1992, 179.

tribe.[74] Nike approaches from the left, holding a fillet with which to adorn the victor. To the right of the altar stands an old white-haired man leaning on a staff.[75] The vase is signed on the foot by the potter Nikias son of Hermokles from the deme Anaphlystos (from whom Beazley has named the vase painter Nikias Painter).[76] Anaphlystos belonged to the victorious tribe Antiochis, and there can be little doubt that a real historical victory of the potter's tribe inspired this vase painting.

We have seen that in the pre-kill sacrificial scenes, sacrifices at herms were relatively popular, and we have argued that many of these herms may be little more than a rather general indication of the setting. In the present series of post-kill sacrificial scenes, in so far as there is any indication of a deity at all, herms are again in the majority, presumably with the same vague implication. Some, however, have additional characteristics, which, to the contemporary public, may have been recognizable as belonging to specific sanctuaries. On a krater in Kiel [Fig. 143, V181: Kiel B 45], by the same painter as the krater in London with the victorious torch racers of the tribe Antiochis, but a much more sloppy work, there is a white painted herm set in a sort of naiskos or shrine (maybe consisting of no more than four columns on a base, supporting a roof). And on a krater in the Vatican [Fig. 144, V206: Vatican 17924] the same painter, again not at his best, has depicted a curiously slender elongated herm. It is regrettable that the Nikias Painter did not spend more care on these two vases, for both appear to have some interesting features. On both the firewood on the altar is clearly indicated, but it is difficult to be certain whether there is an osphûs on it. The altar itself on the Kiel krater is of a common shape: a high rectangular block set on a broader base, and surmounted by volute-bolsters. The altar on the Vatican krater, however, is of the much less usual low rounded variety, referred to by the term *eschára*. In both pictures an acolyte approaches from the left, carrying a kanoûn (besides an oinochoe, Kiel, or spits with splánchna, Vatican). As often, three sprigs are set in the rim of the kanoûn, and — something which does not occur so often — its contents have been indicated in white paint (though not, unfortunately, so precisely that we might identify them

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[74] See Kron 1976, 193, 240, 279 An 2.

[75] Possibly Prometheus; cf. the inscribed white-haired Prometheus on the fragments Vatican (ex Astarita 124-7), *ARV*² 1269/6: Codrus Painter; see Froning 1971, 120 nt. 513.

[76] Signature: Νικίας Ἑρμοκλέους Ἀναφλύστιος ἐποίεσεν. See Immerwahr 1990, 115 nr. 800.

with any confidence). These pictures, and quite a few others, show that in this stage of the ritual too the kanoûn was used to bring certain things to the altar.

A low altar occurs on two more vase paintings, each with enough unusual features to merit special attention. The first one is a kylix by the Pan Painter, c. 470 B.C. [Fig. 145, V195: Oxford 1911.617]. On one side we see a figure in a long sacerdotal robe pouring a libation from a kantharos onto the fire, which burns on the altar. There is a respectable pile of firewood, on which the osphûs can easily be distinguished. The altar has a unique shape, different from the eschára-type we saw on the Vatican krater above: it looks like no more than the top slab of a regular altar, sitting almost directly on the ground. On the right stand a youth and a man, each pouring from an oinochoe. On the far left is another youth, who stretches out his right arm; what he held is lost (possibly also an oinochoe). Since the pictures on the other side of this cup, and on the inside tondo, undoubtedly belong together, it could well be that all three pictures are related, and that the sacrificial scene is connected with the activities that are going on there. These, however, have not been satisfactorily explained.[77] On the inside a male figure walks to the left, himation tied round his waist, holding a long shallow vessel (skáphe) full of irregularly shaped small balls painted red (with this painter, who works with clear outlines, the fuzzy shape of the balls, lacking a distinct contour, must be significant). He is followed by a man who holds a writing case. On the left is seen part of a structure, which may be better understood if we look at the picture on the outside of the cup. There, in the centre, is a low platform supported on big stones. On it stands a large kotyle-shaped vessel, containing the same small red balls, some of which lie on both sides of it on the platform. On the right a man, holding a stylus and a writing tablet, sets one foot on the platform and looks back at a youth who has his himation tied round his waist and brings a skáphe full of the small red balls. On the far side of the platform, to the left of the man, stands another youth, similarly dressed. He extends his right hand holding some of the red balls over the vessel, and stretches out his opened left hand, in a gesture that precisely echoes that of the priestly figure with the kantharos on the opposite side of the kylix. On the far left, behind this youth, is an elderly bald man holding a writing case. Clearly things are being collected and recorded, but the interpretation of the whole scene rather

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[77] See the discussion by Beazley in *CVA* Oxford 1, p. 6-7.

hinges on the identification of the small irregular red balls, and no convincing suggestion has been made.[78]

On an amphora of Panathenaic shape, dated c. 430 B.C., the altar is so low that the firewood is piled almost immediately on the ground [Fig. 146, V173: Darmstadt A 1969:4]. The osphûs is burning in the fire. On the left stands a youthful acolyte, himation tied round his waist, who holds a kanoûn in his left hand and an oinochoe in his right. A man standing opposite him, on the right, is distinguished as a priest by his robe. In his right hand he holds a kantharos, from which he pours a libation onto the fire, and in his left hand he holds some small balls or pellets. These differ from the red objects in the previous picture, in that they do have a distinct regular outline.

There are some other representations of persons involved in a sacrifice who hold a handful of such pellets, not unlike marbles. On an oinochoe, also of the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. [Fig. 148, V196: Oxford 1931.9], we have a youthful splanchnóptes holding his spit over the altar fire, while a bearded man pours a libation over it. A second youth holds an oinochoe, and a handful of pellets. On a neck-amphora of the second quarter of the same century [Fig. 147, V303: New York Brooklyn Mus. 59.34], as on the amphora in Darmstadt, the pellets are held by the man pouring the libation from a stemless kantharos onto the altar (there appears to be no osphûs here), while an acolyte opposite him holds the oinochoe. A stamnos by the Pan Painter [V310: Once Rome Palazzo Ruspoli] again has an officiant pouring a libation from a kantharos onto a (relatively low) altar and holding pellets (painted red) in his left hand. Behind him stands a youth holding a kanoûn and opposite him another one with an oinochoe. In the descriptions of this vase, no mention is made of an osphûs.[79] Still earlier, in the first quarter of the century, belongs a krater which shows satyrs engaged in a sacrifice [V428: Castelvetrano]. One side has a satyr with a kanoûn and another one holding an oinochoe and a bowl; on the other side one satyr, holding a handful of pellets painted red, pours from an oinochoe into the kantharos which is held by the other satyr, who also has a kithara. A fragment of a krater of the later fifth century only preserves part of the person holding the libation cup and a handful of pellets [Fig. 149, V306: Oxford 1954.255]. Perhaps we should also include a

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[78] Webster 1972, 142, considers the possibility that they might be pot-sherds and that what we have here is the counting in an ostracism.

[79] See Beazley in *CVA* Oxford 1, 6-7, and Beazley 1931, 22.

fragmentary krater from the Athenian Akropolis, of around the middle of the century [V281: Athens NM Akr 752]. It shows an altar, a woman standing on the far side of it praying, and another woman on the right who holds some tiny objects, rendered as black dots, in her left hand, while putting some of them with her right hand on the altar. A number of these small dot-like objects can be distinguished on top of the altar.

It has been suggested that the pellets in these vase paintings might be barley corns (olaí).[80] This may be true of the black dots in the last picture, but in the other cases it seems unlikely. Their size, I think, is no real objection. For the sake of visibility the vase painter may be excused for painting them a bit larger than life. But the context pleads against their interpretation as olaí. These are an intrinsic part of the preliminary ritual, before the killing of the animal, whereas our pellets always occur in the context of a libation, and in the two most complete pictures unmistakeably in the post-kill, osphûs-and-splánchna phase of the ceremony. I would propose that they may be *thulémata,* a component in this latter stage of the ritual that we have so far ignored, but which we shall now look into.

Thulémata

After the slave in Aristophanes' *Peace* has slaughtered the sheep, he brings the cut out thighbones to Trygaios and says: "Take the thighbones and put them on the altar. I'll go and get the splánchna and the thuléma-ta."[81] In a fragment of a comedy by Aristophanes' contemporary Phere-krates, a god complains that people just lay the bare bones on the altar for the gods, and then, feeling ashamed before one another, cover them with lots of thulémata.[82] The scholion on the Aristophanes passage tells us something about the nature of these things: "*Thulémata: álphita* (barley groats or meal) added as a supplement to the sacrifices to the gods. It is sprinkled with wine and olive oil. Telekleides in the *Sterroi:* 'O lord

[80] Beazley 1931, 22; Webster 1972, 142.

[81] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1039-1040; see above note 17.

[82] Pherekrates fr. 28 Kassel-Austin (= 23 Kock); see above note 30. Menander, *Dyscolus* 440-1, also mentions the preparation of *thulémata* as an indispensable part of the sacrifice.

Hermes, gulp down of the thulémata'."[83] Another late source has it that the barley meal was kneaded together with wine and oil.[84]

In Eumaios' sacrifice, in *Odyssey* 14, the swineherd throws the parts that are destined for the gods into the fire "having strewn them with meal."[85] This has been taken to mean that they were covered with a coating of moistened meal or dough, before they were put in the sacrificial fire.[86]

For Homer, this may be so, but in the Aristophanes passage, which dates from the same period as our vase paintings, the procedure is clearly different. The thighbones etc. are already being placed on the altar by Trygaios, while the slave goes to fetch the thulémata. So it is only after they have been put on the altar, that these bare bones will, in Pherekrates' words, be covered with thulémata. This, and the passage from Telekleides, clearly indicates that the thulémata were something separate, not just a coating.[87] Of the shape of the thulémata the texts tell us nothing, but to be able to throw the meal mixed with wine and oil onto the god's portion without any risk of extinguishing the sacrificial fire, it would be convenient to knead it into small lumps or pellets. The pellets in our vase paintings appear at the right moment in the ritual, to make their identification with these thulémata reasonably likely.

The kanoûn, which is depicted in several of the relevant pictures, was probably used to bring them to the altar.[88] The acolyte carrying a kanoûn

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[83] Scholion Aristophanes, *Pax* 1040: θυλήματα· τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιθυόμενα ἄλφιτα. ἐπιρραίνεται δὲ οἴνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ. Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Στερροῖς (fr. 35 Kassel-Austin = 33 Kock) "ὦ δέσποθ' Ἑρμῆ, κάπτε τῶν θυλημάτων." Telekleides is another poet of Old Comedy.

[84] Phrynichos, *Praeparatio sophistica* 74, 9-12 Borries (previously published by Bekker, *Anecdota graeca* I, 1814, 42, 25-27): Φερεκράτης (fr. 247 Kassel-Austin = 214 Kock) δὲ τὰ θυλήματα, ἃ πέρ ἐστιν ἄλφιτα οἴνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ μεμαγμένα, ὡσαύτως καλεῖ θυμέλην (ὡσαύτως: Ruhnken; οὕτω: Ms). See also Theophrastos, *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* fr. 2 Pötscher: ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῶν θυηλῶν τοῖς ψαισθεῖσι θυλήμασι χρώμεθα.

[85] *Odyssey* 14, 429: καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε, παλύνας ἀλφίτου ἀκτῇ.

[86] Stengel 1910, 8.

[87] The conclusion of Casabona 1966, 123, "Il s'agit donc des farines mouillées d'huile et de vin, dont on recouvrait les viandes pour les brûler", does not do justice to the texts quoted.

[88] Kanoûn together with osphûs and/or splánchna: [V160: London B 362; V157: Athens Agora P 15954?; V159: Frankfurt ß 306?; V190: Naples MN 127 929; V173: Darmstadt A 1969:4; V202: Port Sunlight 5036; V182: Laon 37.1041; V164: Athens NM

in one hand and a spit with splánchna, leaning against his shoulder, in the other, depicted on an early Classical lekythos in Oxford [Fig. 150, V193: Oxford 536], and again on the Nikias Painter's krater in the Vatican already discussed above, would be an apt illustration of Trygaios' slave bringing the splánchna and the thulémata. The immediately subsequent moment is shown on a late Classical krater [Fig. 151, V189: Nancy]. A boy presents the kanoûn to the bearded sacrificer standing at the altar, who is taking something from it. We can not see what it is he takes, and by itself this part of the picture could equally well have a place in the pre-kill phase, to denote the sacrificer taking olaí from the kanoûn [cf. V128: Athens NM 12491]. On the Nancy krater, however, it is clear that the ritual is in a more advanced stage: in the fire on the altar the osphûs is being burnt, and a youth on the right holds the spit with splánchna over the same fire, while a pipe-player accompanies the proceedings. For a contemporary Athenian, familiar with the various consecutive components of sacrificial ritual, the context in this and similar pictures would suggest that the kanoûn contained, not olaí, but thulémata.

Finally, a late Classical krater in the Louvre [Fig. 152, V200: Paris Louvre G 496] presents yet another element that is not at first sight easily identifiable. Most of the scene is familiar: a blood-stained altar with neatly arranged firewood (apparently no osphûs); on the left, behind the bearded officiant, a youthful assistant holding the splánchna on spits over the fire; on the right a second assistant with kanoûn and oinochoe, and, behind him, Apollo holding a laurel branch (on the far side of the altar stands a laurel tree). If the bearded sacrificer would have held a phiale or cup for libation in his right hand, this would have been just one more member of a familiar series. What he holds, however, is of too irregular a shape to be so interpreted. It looks like a soft yielding mass, with traces of yellowish paint.[89] There is some evidence, though it is far from conclusive, that part

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1466; V161: Athens Agora P 5495; V175: Durham 1972.1; V176: Ferrara 9925; V180: Heidelberg 143; V183: Lecce 630; V193: Oxford 536; V200: Paris Louvre G 496; V204: Saint Petersburg 1658; V206: Vatican 17924; V210: Pivate coll.; V211: ex Hamilton; V181: Kiel B 54; V189: Nancy].

[89] For the yellow colour see Pottier 1897-1922, 279 G 496. Durand 1986, 137 f., proposes to recognize the enigmatic object on this vase (and some others) as a *pélanos* being deposited on the altar. As far as our evidence goes, however, the *pélanos* would not seem to have a place in this part of the ritual. Jameson, in: M. Cropp *et al.* (eds.), *Greek tragedy and its legacy. Essays presented to D.J. Conacher* (1986) 64 nt 15, interprets it as a clumsily rendered phiale of metal; that is certainly a possibility, but I

of the splánchna, e.g. the heart, in particular instances of sacrificial ritual might receive a separate treatment.[90]

Or alternatively we might think of the curious divinatory ritual involving the bladder of the victim, described in a scholion on Euripides' *Phoenissae:* "And the bladder full of urine, tying it up with wool at the outlet, they deposited in the fire, and they watched, where it would burst and where the urine would squirt."[91] It is not inconceivable that what the man on the Louvre krater holds over the fire is either a heart, or a bladder filled with urine, but I would not press the point. There is a similar picture, with a man holding an irregular object over the fire (with osphûs), on a black figure lekythos of the early fifth century B.C. [Fig. 153, V158: Athens NM 595]. There, however, the drawing is even less clear, and slightly damaged by a crack in the vase, so it contributes little to our understanding.

4.3. Taratalla

In the Homeric descriptions of sacrifice there is a clear dichotomy of the post-kill phase of the ritual. The first part is concerned with the god's portion, the splánchna and libation. After the thighbones have been burnt and the splánchna consumed, the second part is introduced with the standard formula:

μίστυλλόν τ' ἄρα τἆλλα καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν.

"And then they cut up the rest and skewered it on spits."[92]

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think this vase painter deserves a little more credit than that.

[90] A late cult regulation from Ephesus: *LSS* 121, 7-8: (ἱερεῖα) καρδιουργούμενα; Loukianos, *De sacrificiis* 13: (ἱερεὺς) καρδιουλκῶν. Cf. the inscription from Smyrna (?) in Leiden, Pleket 1958, 90 nr. 70, 13; *LSA* 84; Nock, *HarvSt* 63 (1958) 415-421 = *Essays* II (1972) 847-852.

[91] Scholion Euripides *Phoenissae* 1256: (- - -) καὶ τὴν κύστιν μεστὴν οὔρου ἐν τῷ στόματι ἐρίῳ δεσμοῦντες ἐπετίθουν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ ἐπετήρουν ποῦ ῥαγήσεται καὶ ποῦ ἀκοντίσει τὸ οὖρον (Pritchett 1979, 84 nt 148, takes this scholion to mean that the tail of the victim was put inside the bladder, apparently misreading οὐρᾶς for οὔρου). Cf. Sophokles, *Manteis* fr. 362 N²: τὰς μαλλοδέτας κύστεις. A badly corrupt fragment of Euboulos (fr. 94 Kassel-Austin = 95 Kock; above note 32) mentions both heart and bladder as parts of the god's portion.

[92] *Iliad* 1, 465; *Odyssey* 3, 462; 12, 365; cf. 14, 430. I regret I cannot remember which English author, who knew better, first used mistyllon and taratalla as substantive nouns.

This rest, in fact the best part of the animal, is than carefully roasted, and thus provides for a festive banquet. In Homer, in this second part the ritual aspect of the sacrifice is no longer very much in the foreground, and we shall see in this section that the same is largely true for the iconographical material.

In Classical Greece animal sacrifice was the main source of meat for human consumption, so it stands to reason that there would have been considerable interest in this aspect of the ritual. Cult regulations in inscriptions may stipulate that the sacrificial meat should be consumed within the sacred precinct (or, more precisely, that it should not be taken away).[93] Sometimes, on the other hand, the flesh of the sacrificed animals could be sold.[94] Normally, if no such special regulations were in force, those who participated in the sacrifice took home part of the sacrificial meat.[95] At the great festivals of the state, when many animals were slaughtered, large scale distributions of meat had to be organized. The fourth century law regulating the Lesser Panathenaia contains detailed instructions for the distribution of the meat of the two main sacrifices: several groups of officials had their share guaranteed before the general distribution was made to the other participants in the festivities.[96] Similarly, a decree of the early fourth century concerning the cult of Asklepios reserved the meat from the first ox for the prytaneis, the archons, and other officials.[97] When the epimeletai of the Mysteries in 215/4 B.C. were

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[93] For the interdiction to take away any part of the victim, *leges sacrae* use the formula οὐκ ἀποφορά, οὐ φορά, μὴ εἶναι ἐκφορήν, *vel sim.*: *LS* 18 *passim; LS* 54, 10-11; *LS* 69, 31-32; *LS* 132, 3; *LS* 151 A 45, 58-60; B 4, 24; *LS* 157 A 5-7. *LSS* 88 a 3-4; *LSS* 94, 13-14. See Daux, *BCH* 87 (1963) 628.

[94] *Lex sacra* from Thorikos, *SEG* 33 (1983) 147 *passim*: πρατόν; see Parker, in: Linders & Nordquist (eds.) 1987, 145; *lex sacra* of the deme Skambonidai, *IG* I³ 244 (*LS* 10) C 18 and 21-22: τὰ δὲ κρέα ἀποδόσθαι ὀμά. Cf. Isenberg, *ClPhil* 70 (1975) 271-273.

[95] See e.g. Aristophanes, *Plutus* 227-8:

τουτοδὶ τὸ κρεάδιον
τῶν ἔνδοθέν τις εἰσενεγκάτω λαβών.

Scholion ad 227: τοῦτο τὸ κρεάδιον· ὃ ἔρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας ἔχων ἐκ τῶν Δελφῶν. οἱ γὰρ ἐκ θυσίας ἰόντες, ἔφερον ἐξ αὐτῆς τοῖς οἰκείοις κατὰ νόμον τινά.

[96] *IG* II² 334 + *SEG* 18, 13 (*LS* 33), B 10-16 and 24-27. An earlier decree, of c. 422/416 B.C., was restored by Sokolowski, *LSS* 8, to provide for a distribution of sacrificial meat to all citizens; see, however, Lewis's reservations, *IG* I³ 137.

[97] *IG* II² 47, 35 ff.: νέμεν δὲ τὰ | [κρέ]α τῶ μὲν ἡγεμόνος βοὸς κτλ. For βοῦς ἡγεμών see Xenophon, *Hellenica* VI 4, 29.

honoured for the proper discharge of their duties, special mention of the distribution of meat to the boule was included.[98]

After that, it may come as a surprise that in Greek votive reliefs of the Classical period the preparation of the meat for the sacrificial banquet, the banquet itself, or indeed the consumption of the meat of the victim in any form, is entirely absent, with the one (marginal) exception of a limestone votive plaque from Golgoi (Cyprus).[99] In this very shallow relief, incised rather than sculpted, which is dated to the fourth century B.C., worshippers are represented in three separate scenes: solemnly approaching Apollo, engaged in a chain dance, and enjoying a banquet.

On the later Hellenistic votive reliefs from northwestern Asia Minor, the theme of the sacrificial banquet occurs a few times. The type is well illustrated by a stele from a sanctuary near Apameia on the Propontis, dedicated to Apollo and Meter Kybele by a religious association of *thiasîtai* and *thiasítides*.[100] It shows the familiar sacrificial scene in the upper panel, and in the lower register the members of the thiasos at a festive meal, with a copious supply of drink and souvlakia, and some light entertainment provided by musicians and a dancer. The inscription dates the stele in the year 178, which translates to 119 B.C., or 93 A.D., or something in between, depending on which era is meant.[101]

We should not hastily conclude, that the Classical Greeks had no interest in what happened with the rest of the sacrificial animal. In Menander's *Dyscolus,* in fact, much more is made of the preparations of the sacrificial feast by a slave of the family and a hired mágeiros, than of

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[98] *IG* II² 847, 25-26.

[99] Masson 1961, 287 nr. 268. Dentzer 1982, 281-2, 570 R27, fig. 208. Ghedini, *AM* 103 (1988) 193-202.

[100] Athens NM 1485, from Tirilye (Triglia): Svoronos, pl. 112; Perdrizet, *BCH* 23 (1899) 592-599 no. II; Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 30-44; Schwertheim, in: *Festschrift F.K. Dörner* II (1978) 119 f. no. II A 13; *LIMC* II (1984) Apollon 964; Corsten 1987, 47-56 no. 35; Vermaseren, *CCCA* I: *Asia Minor* (1987) 81 no. 252, pl. 50-51. — See also the votive relief London BM 817, from the Kyzikos area: Smith 1892, no. 817; Perdrizet, *ibid.* pl. 4; *BMI* IV 2, nr. 1007; *LIMC* II Apollon 795; Bélis, *RA* (1986) 31 fig. 9; Bélis, *BCH* 112 (1988) 325 (in both articles by A. Bélis the relief is curiously misrepresented as a "stèle funéraire"). The illustrations of the Athens and London reliefs are confused in Nilsson 1974, 666, pl. 14. — Two votive reliefs with banqueters in Bursa, inv. 2579 and 2653: Mitropoulou, *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (1990) 472-474.

[101] See Corsten 1987, 55-6.

the sacrificial ritual itself. And a number of vase paintings of the later sixth and the fifth century B.C. depict the working of meat. On an Attic black figure krater, described above [V160: London B 362], the roasting of the splánchna and the burning of the osphûs is combined with the chopping up, on a table, of the rest of the sacrificed goat. A simple subtraction sum may teach us, which parts of the animal the man at the table is putting his knife to: the splánchna have been extracted and the osphûs cut out, the two hind legs (minus the thighbones) hang on the wall, and the head lies under the table, so the rest is what is being sliced up.

Further operations concerned with the preparation of the sacrificial meat for consumption are depicted on the Ricci hydria [V154: Rome VG]. The altar scene in the centre, and the things happening to the left of it, have already been dealt with. To the right of the altar, nearest to it, is a man, ladling wine from an amphora on a stand into a cup. He faces left, and may be considered part of the central scene, where a libation is being (or about to be) performed. Further to the right is a man at a large kettle (lebes) on feet, which stands over a fire; he holds a flesh-hook (*kreágra*) in his right hand, with which he has fished a piece of meat out of the lebes, to put it on the plate in his left hand. Then follow two men on either side of a shallow basin on a pedestal. Next are two men at a table, skewering small pieces of meat (some of which may be seen lying on the table) onto two spits. Finally, on the far right, is an enigmatic scene, to which we will return, albeit to little avail.

So far, we have seen that part of the meat is put on spits, to be roasted eventually (or possibly as a convenient means of transport[102]), and part is boiled or stewed in a kettle. In Homer, all the meat apparently was roasted, but later on that was unusual, and a lebes was considered a rather indispensable implement at the preparations of a sacrificial feast. The mágeiros and slave in Menander's *Dyscolus* forgot to bring one. After having pestered the man next door for some time, trying to borrow one, the cook decides to roast all the meat, or better yet, to use the frying-pan he happens to have with him.[103] But normally a lebes would be used.[104] On

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[102] Thus Durand 1979, 155 and Berthiaume 1982. Durand refers to a quotation from Polycharmos in Athenaios VIII 333 d-f (*FGrHist* 770 F 1), but the passage is hardly apposite.

[103] Menander, *Dyscolus* 456:

ΓΕ. τὸ λεβήτιον, φήις, ἐπιλέλη[σθ]ε;

and 518-521:

ΣΙΚ. ἆρά γ' ἐστί μοι

a fragment of the neck of an Athenian black figure volute krater from the Akropolis [Fig. 154, V212: Athens NM Akr 654], in a scene not unlike that on the Ricci hydria, we have two men at a lebes, which is set on a tripod stand over a fire. One man holds an indistinct object, possibly a platter of some sort, while the other holds a stick-like object with which he stirs the contents of the kettle, or is fishing for a piece of meat to put it on the platter. Next to them is another man, chopping up meat to put it on spits. And the preparations for the cannibalistic sacrificial meal by the servants of Bousiris, on an Apulian dinos [V363: New York 1984.11.7], include the filling and warming up of a tripod kettle over a fire.

The two men at the standed basin, between the kettle scene and the table scene on the Ricci hydria, are generally interpreted as washing themselves at a laver (*loutérion*).[105] Having a good wash in the middle of the various stages of food processing may seem a good idea to us, but even if we assume that Greeks in the late sixth century B.C. had similar ideas about hygiene, it is still a bit unexpected that the vase painter should have considered it important or interesting enough to include it in his picture. To see it as a ritual ablution at the beginning of the ceremony would be, in itself, more acceptable. But then, the place of the scene in the whole narrative sequence is hard to understand, and moreover we would expect to see the ablutions performed by (one of) the officiant(s) himself, not by servants.

It seems to me that the identification of the basin on a stand as a loutérion may have been too easily accepted. It is true that loutéria looked like this, and that they were of common occurrence in sanctuaries.[106] But there was another household utensil that was very similar in shape to a loutérion, so much so that in vase painting they are often impossible to distinguish unless the context is conclusive: the kneading trough or kneading

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κράτιστον ὀπτᾶν τὰ κρέα πάντα; φαίνεται.
ἔστιν δέ μοι λοπάς τις. ἐρρῶσθαι λέγω
Φυλασίοις. τοῖς οὖσι τούτοις χρήσομαι.

[104] See Euripides, *Electra* 801-2 (preparations for a sacrifice by Aigisthos):
ἄλλοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνῆπτον ἀμφί τ' ἐσχάρας
λέβητας ὥρθουν.
The *Molpai*-inscription from Miletus speaks of ὄπτησις σπλάγχνων, κρεῶν ἕψησις (*LSA* 50, 34), suggesting that on that occasion all the meat was boiled.

[105] Ricci, *ASAtene* 24-26 (1946-48) 49; Helbig III ⁴(1969) p. 555; Durand 1979, 154; Berthiaume 1982, 52.

[106] See e.g. Ginouvès 1962, 77 ff.; Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 2 (1980) 89-106.

table (*kárdopos, máktra*).[107] It may be because of this similarity that loutérion and kárdopos (both stone and pottery) appear in successive entries on the Attic Stelai.[108] There are, however, a number of unmistakeable three-dimensional representations of kárdopoi in terracotta groups of women kneading dough, either singly,[109] or in the context of a bake house.[110] They all show round kárdopoi on a single central pedestal. Some are fairly deep troughs, others are almost flat, like a table. In vase paintings, kárdopoi, as opposed to loutéria, may sometimes be identified with certainty (because the dough on it is visible),[111] or with a reasonable degree of probability (because they are too flat to be functional as a washing basin).[112]

The "loutérion" on the Ricci hydria, in my opinion, makes better sense as a kneading table, not so much because it is on the shallow side for a wash basin, though there is that, but mainly because thus it fits much

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[107] The object has received an exemplary treatment by Amyx, *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 239-241; and Sparkes, *JHS* 82 (1962) 126, 135, and *JHS* 85 (1965) 162-3.

[108] The Attic Stelai comprise a group of inscriptions recording the sale of items of personal property confiscated from Alkibiades and other condemned men, who were accused of mutilating the Herms and profanating the Eleusinian mysteries in 415/4 B.C.; see W.K. Pritchett, The Attic Stelai I, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 225-299; W.K. Pritchett, The Attic Stelai II, *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 178-317; D.A. Amyx, The Attic Stelai III, *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 163-310.

[109] Boiotian terracotta figurines of a woman working at a standed kneading table or trough, c. 500-475 B.C.: Athens NM 4044, from Tanagra: Kourouniotis, *AEphem* 1896, pl. 12, 3; Sparkes, *JHS* 85 (1965) pl. 29, 2; Higgins 1967, pl. 32 c. — Athens NM 4052, from Eretria: Kourouniotis, *ibid.* pl. 12, 4. — Athens NM 6006: Sparkes, *JHS* 85 (1962) 162 nr. 53 D. — Boston MFA 97.352: Chase, in: *Fests. Loeb* (1930) 46 fig. 2; Chase & Vermeule 1963, fig. 59. — Carlsruhe B 2731: Schürmann 1989, 39 nr. 82, pl. 17. — Cassel T 523: Sinn 1977, nr. 25, colour pl. I.

[110] Athens NM 5773, Argive terracotta, 6th century B.C.: Kourouniotis, *AEphem* 1896, pl. 11, 1; Amyx, *Hesperia* 27 (1958) pl. 50 b; Sparkes, *JHS* 82 (1962) 133 nr. 2. — Munich coll. Loeb, Corinthian (?) terracotta, 6th century B.C.: Sieveking 1916, pl. 3.

[111] Toledo, Ohio, 58.69 B, Attic black figure stand, *Paralip* 169; *CVA* pl. 16.

[112] E.g. Tarquinia RC 1116, Attic red figure kylix, *ARV*² 445/250: Douris; Ferrari 1988, 157 nr. 54, pl. 92-93, 1. — Boston MFA 97.369, Attic red figure kylix, *ARV*² 444/248: Douris; Caskey & Beazley III pl. 74, 131. — Boston MFA 01.8029, Attic red figure kylix, *ARV*² 443/226: Douris; Caskey & Beazley III pl. 74, 128. — Coll. Norbert Schimmel, Attic red figure kylix, D. von Bothmer apud O.W. Muscarella, *Ancient art - The Norbert Schimmel collection* (1974) nr. 59: Douris. — Ferrara T 719 VT, Attic red figure oinochoe, *ARV*² 1324/42: Manner of the Meidias Painter; Burkert & Hoffmann, *Hephaistos* 2 (1980) 107-111.

better into the context: this scene is now concerned with the preparation of food, like the two on either side of it.

This leaves us with one unexplained activity, on the far right of the picture. One man stands facing right, holding a cup in his left hand and perhaps a knife in his (damaged) right hand. Opposite him sits another man, holding an object which Ricci interpreted as a bellows, and which has been passed over in silence by most of the subsequent interpreters of this vase. The object does indeed resemble a pair of bellows of the type that adorns many a modern fireplace (essentially a soft leather bag fixed between two wooden boards that one pulls apart and presses together). But the problem is that the object, if so interpreted, would seem to be ahead of its time by several centuries, for it does not otherwise occur before the Roman period.[113] Bellows in Archaic and Classical Greece were of a different type, and—and this is a more serious objection—their use was typically restricted to smelting furnaces.[114] Open cooking fires were helped along, if necessary, with a simple fan (*rhípis*).[115] So, what the man on the Ricci hydria is handling is probably not a bellows after all (anyway, no fire can be seen where he is pointing it, and if there were, the man opposite him would be standing in the middle of it). If we take the half goat hanging from the vine above these two men as an indication that they are busy with some part of the victim, we may perhaps consider the possibility that the seated one is holding two spits with entrails.[116] Perhaps not.

An incomplete Attic red figure kylix of the late sixth century B.C. [V224: Florence 5 B 2] must also have shown a sacrificial ceremony in its more advanced stage. Parts remain of two young men each carrying an ox's leg over his shoulder, and a third one with a kanoûn[117] and a wide

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[113] Zimmer 1982, 186 nr. 122; Blümner 1879, 190 ff.; Daremberg & Saglio, *DA* s.v. "follis".

[114] Hauser, in: FR III p. 85; Beazley, *AJA* 66 (1962) 235 ff.; Gempeler, *AntK* 12 (1969) 16 ff.

[115] Aristophanes, *Acharnenses* 668-9 and 887-8. Sparkes, *JHS* 82 (1962) 129; *JHS* 85 (1965) 163; *JHS* 95 (1975) 134.

[116] For the entrails being treated separately, by the side of the altar, combined with libations, one might refer to the (admittedly rather unusual) sacrifice in Kos, *LS* 151, 33-35: ἔ[ντ]ερ[α δὲ ἐκπλύναντες παρὰ τὸ[μ βωμὸν κα]ρπῶντι· ἐπεὶ δέ κα καρπω[θῆι] ἄποτα, ἐπισπενδέτω μελίκρατον.

[117] In *CVA* Florence, pl. 5, 52, it is described as a table (carried upside down), but the shape is acceptable for a kanoûn, and the way it is carried rather points to that interpretation: cf. the kanoûn carried by one of Bousiris' servants on the krater [V360:

flat basket containing something indistinct. Another fragment of the same cup, now in Heidelberg, has part of a man in a patterned sacerdotal robe, so the ritual context of the handling of the meat was explicit in this picture. In the following examples that is not the case.

An early picture of a man and an assistant chopping up a leg of meat is to be found under one of the handles of the Corinthian Eurytios krater [V240: Paris Louvre E 635]. This scene is clearly linked, by an interposed dinos on stand and oinochoe, with the banquet on the obverse of the vase. On this Corinthian krater the chopping up is done on a sort of table, consisting of a (round?) platform supported on a central pedestal.

In later representations the mágeiroi often use a solid wooden chopping block. The Greek word for it was *epíxenon,* and it plays a part in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, where Dikaiopolis states his case with his head on the block, so that he may be decapitated on the spot if he does not convince his audience.[118] Typically this *epíxenon* was a solid cylindrical block of wood with three legs, such as is still fairly widely used in modern times.[119] Two red figure pelikai of the first half of the fifth century B.C., one Attic [Fig. 155, V222: Erlangen I 486] and one Boiotian [Fig. 156, V239: Munich 2347], show butchers at work at such a block. The three-legged chopping block is also a feature of some of the representations of the story of Herakles and Bousiris [V348: Ferrara T 579; V363: New York MMA 1984.11.7].

On an Attic black figure oinochoe [Fig. 157, V213: Boston 99.527] the butcher and his helper use a different type of block: a solid cylinder of wood sitting firmly on the ground, and having a slightly projecting top.[120] In this picture there is a table as well, with some slices of meat on it, and a basin underneath. In the background stands a tree with a leg of meat

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Art market].

[118] Aristophanes, *Acharnenses:*

318 ὑπὲρ ἐπιξήνου 'θελήσω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχων λέγειν. (Cf. 355).
359 τί οὖν <οὐ> λέγεις, ἐπίξηνον ἐξενεγκὼν θύραζ'.
366 ἰδοὺ θέασαι, τὸ μὲν ἐπίξηνον τοδί.

Scholion ad 318: ὑπὲρ ἐπιξήνου· ἐπίξηνος καλεῖται ὁ μαγειρικὸς κορμός, ἐφ' οὗ τὰ κρέα συγκόπτουσιν.

[119] See Chamay, *Genava* N.S. 24 (1976) 281-290.

[120] Durand, in: Detienne & Vernant (eds.) 1979, 172, takes this block as an altar, indicating the ritual content of the scene. On a contemporary Attic black figure olpe, however, a similar block is used to cut up a large fish: Berlin F 1915, Chamay, *Genava* N.S. 24 (1976) 283 fig. 3. I therefore prefer to see it as a piece of mageiric equipment.

hanging in it: a convenient manner of keeping it out of the way of hungry dogs.[121]

Sometimes a table was used to chop up a leg of meat [V230: Munich], and to cut the meat into smaller pieces, which were put on spits. This is what is going on on the outer sides of a kylix by Makron [V232: Paris Louvre C 10918].[122] The inside of the cup has a man at a large kettle or bowl on a tripod stand, into which he appears to be putting lumps of meat.[123] Two men putting meat on a spit and cutting it to size, while two dogs show an interest in their work, are again the subject on a black figure olpe of the same period [V225: Heidelberg].[124]

A Boiotian black figure lekanis lid, dated to c. 500 B.C., shows various aspects of the mágeiros' work in a continuous narrative [Fig. 158, V238: Adolphseck 120]. Two men hold up a large slice of meat, one of them preparing to cut it to size with a knife; a number of similar slices lie on a bench. Next to them two men are wrapping pieces of meat round a spit. In the third part of the scene, between two columns, two men are busy with meat on a spit placed on a support, ready to be roasted, while a third man brings another spit with meat.[125]

To sum up, the vase paintings depicting men working or handling meat, with the exception of the first three mentioned, contain no explicit reference to sacrificial ritual. The vase painters and their patrons, if they had cared to think about it, would probably have assumed that the meat depicted came from sacrifices, but that is just not the point of interest in these pictures. They are rather of the class of representations of artisans at work, comparable to vase paintings of potters, blacksmiths, carpenters

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[121] It seems that pieces of meat hung in a fig tree would become tender more quickly: Ploutarchos, *Moralia* 696 e.

[122] The small pieces of meat on the table, rendered in added red, are not visible on the photographs published; see Durand, in: Detienne & Vernant (eds.) 1979, 165 fig. 19.

[123] Sparkes, *JHS* 85 (1965) 163, saw him as taking dough (?) out of a bowl in the shape of rolls to bake, and this may well be the preferable interpretation.

[124] A series of late black figure olpai shows Herakles holding a similar spit of meat at an altar [V386: Berlin F 1919; V387: Gotha 44; V388: London B 473; V390: Paris Louvre F 338].

[125] There is a third spit with meat in this scene; it is not quite clear whether it stands ready, or is held by the last mentioned man in his left hand.

and cobblers.[126] The butchers and their assistants are shown either naked, or in typical working clothes (loin-cloth or himation wrapped round the waist).

There are a few vase paintings which show a man or youth walking or running, who carries a leg of meat. It may be a leg of a sheep or goat, carried in one hand [Fig. 159, V215: Agrigento 26 (715); Fig. 160, V220: Boston 10.184; V226: Laon 37.1034; V229: London 1928.1-17.60], or a heavy ox's leg carried over the shoulder [V233: Providence 25.076; V214: Salerno]. Most of these are isolated figures with no context. We could see them as people who have participated in a sacrificial ceremony and are now taking home part of the sacrificial meat, which, as we have seen, was the customary thing to do, unless there were special regulations requiring the consumption of the animal within the sacred precinct. Thus Makron's picture of a boy running with a hoop, holding a leg of meat, while his little dog frolics at his side [Fig. 161, V231: Munich 2674], may be meant as a boy running home from a sacrifice.[127] Or maybe he was sent by his father to bring a portion of the sacrificial feast to a good friend.[128] Yet the painter may have had something very different in mind. A contemporary pelike [V221: Boulogne 134] has a homoerotic courting scene on either side. On one side, the boy being courted by an adult man, holds a large cake on a plate and a leg of meat. The latter probably derives from some sacrifice, but once again that is clearly not the painter's point. What it refers to here, is one of the gifts exchanged between *erastés* and *erómenos*.[129]

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[126] See e.g. Ziomecki 1975. For a somewhat different appreciation of these vase paintings, however, see Sarah Peirce's recent article on revelry and thysia, *ClAnt* 12 (1993) 219-266.

[127] See also the boy balancing a tray of food covered with a napkin in one hand, while trundling a hoop along with the other hand: Oxford 1886.587, Attic red figure kylix, *ARV*² 357/69: Colmar Painter; *CVA* 1, pl. 1, 8; Boardman 1975, fig. 236; Vickers 1982, fig. 37; Vanhove (ed.) 1992, 160 nr. 12, 166.

[128] Cf. Theophrastos, *Characteres* 17 (μεμψιμοιρία), 2; Aristophanes, *Acharnenses* 1049; Menandros, *Samia* 404.

[129] On such courtship scenes see Beazley, *ProcBritAc* 33 (1947) 3-31; Schauenburg, AA 1965, 845-867 and *AM* 90 (1975) 118; Dover 1978, 91 ff.; Shapiro, *AJA* 85 (1981) 133-143; Koch-Harnack 1983; Kilmer 1993, 11-15. Cf. the elderly woman sending her young lover a tray loaded with cake and sweets: Aristophanes, *Plutus* 995-998.

4.4. Miscellaneous post-kill topics

4.4.1. *Priest's prerogatives?*

There are, to my knowledge, no unmistakable representations of certain portions of the sacrificial animal being reserved for the priest. The iconographical material, taken by itself, therefore hardly warrants the inclusion of a section on this topic. There are, however, literary and (numerous) epigraphical texts dealing with the subject. In Aristophanes' *Plutus,* the slave Karion pokes fun at the priest in the Asklepieion, whom he saw, during the night of incubation, taking the cheese-cakes and figs off the holy table, and going round all the altars seeing if anyone had left a cake there, and then "consecrating" all of them into his bag.[130] A joke about the priests' greediness was always good for a laugh, but as a matter of fact any Athenian would have known that what the priest here collected was nothing but his due.[131] In a fragment of a comedy by Aristophanes' contemporary Ameipsias, it is stated that the special perquisites given to the priests would normally include a ham, the rib (or side), and the left half of the head.[132] Inscriptions with sacred laws abound in a variety of very precise regulations regarding the priest's perquisites at sacrifices (*hierósuna, géra*).[133] The parts mentioned by Ameipsias indeed occur frequently. In a sacred law from Athens, of the fourth century B.C., they are further defined as "to be put on the table".[134] A general survey of similar regulations shows, that the *trapezómata,* i.e. the offerings placed

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[130] Aristophanes, *Plutus* 676-681:

ἔπειτ' ἀναβλέψας ὁρῶ τὸν ἱερέα
τοὺς φθοῖς ἀφαρπάζοντα καὶ τὰς ἰσχάδας
ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς ἱερᾶς. μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ
περιῆλθε τοὺς βωμοὺς ἅπαντας ἐν κύκλῳ,
εἴ που πόπανον εἴη τι καταλελειμμένον·
ἔπειτα ταῦθ' ἥγιζεν εἰς σάκταν τινά.

[131] Greedy priests in Aristophanes: *Pax* 1044 ff.; *Plutus* 1171 ff.

[132] Ameipsias fr. 7 Kassel-Austin (= 7 Kock):

δίδοται μάλισθ' ἱερώσυνα
κωλῆ, τὸ πλευρόν, ἡμίκραιρ' ἀριστερά.

[133] For a recent survey, see Le Guen-Pollet, in: Étienne & Le Dinahet 1991, 13-23. Further on Greek priests: Ziehen, Hiereis, *RE* VIII (1913) 1411-24; Garland, *BSA* 79 (1984) 75-123; Miller, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 313-329; Garland, in: Beard & North (eds.) 1990, 75-91; Mantes 1990; Flashar & Mantis, *Antike Plastik* 22 (1993) 75-87.

[134] *LS* 28, *passim:* ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τράπεζαν κωλῆν, πλευρὸν ἰσχίο, ἡμίκραιραν χορδῆς.

on the holy table, would normally fall to the priest.[135] The parts of the victim most frequently included are a ham (κωλῆ) or a leg (σκέλος), the head (or half of it), portions of splánchna and meat, and, above all, the skin. In addition to parts of the victim, the priests regularly received sacrificial cakes of every conceivable description, which also would first have been placed on the holy table.

As we saw in the previous section, there are a number of vase paintings with men or boys carrying a leg of meat. But there is only one instance, I think, where one might reasonably consider the possibility that the vase painter had the priest's portion in mind. That is on the inside of a kylix by Makron [Fig. 162, V228: London E 62]. A bearded man, wreathed with vine, is seated on a stool, and a boy brings him a leg of meat and a dish with a delicious looking cake or pie. In some of the vase paintings showing the chopping up of meat, the victim's head (another regular part of the priest's portion), is put to one side [V160: London B 362; V230: Munich; V235: Vatican 17924], but nowhere is there any explicit reference to the priest, and the same goes for the picture of a youth dragging the skin of an ox, on an amphora by the Pan Painter [Fig. 163, V219: Boston 01.8109].

A holy table loaded with cakes (or portions of meat?) is set beside the altar on an Attic red figure krater of the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. [Fig. 164, V175: Durham 1972.1]. On an Apulian krater of c. 400 B.C. [V149: Naples 2411], we see a woman bringing a tray filled with various cakes etc. towards the table next to the altar, where another woman is about to kill the sacrificial kid. And on a fourth century votive relief from the Athenian Asklepieion, the worshippers are overloading the *hierà trápeza* with a rich variety of cakes [R10: Athens NM 1335]. In a fiscal sense, so to speak, these *trapezómata* might be regarded as priest's perquisites. But to call them that would be a misrepresentation of the intention of the makers and buyers of these depictions. At the moment that a worshipper deposited these offerings on the holy table, they were gifts to the god, even though he knew full well where they would end up.

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[135] For τραπεζώματα see *LSA* 13, 15; the verb τραπεζόω: *LS* 64, 13-14; *LS* 65, 86; *LS* 125, 2; *Altert. von Pergamon* VIII 3 (1969) nr. 161, 1. Often the phrase ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν παρατιθέναι *vel. sim.* is used, e.g. *LSA* 24 A 14-15, 18-19; *ibid.* 23-5: ὅσα δὲ ἐπὶ [τὴν] | τράπεζαν παρατεθῆι ταῦτα εἶναι γέ|ρα τῶι ἱρεῖ. See also D. Gill, *HarvTheolR* 67 (1974) 117-137.

4.4.2. *Hieroskopía*

When the carcass of the victim had been opened up, inspection of the splánchna, particularly the liver, would reveal whether the signs of the sacrifice were favourable.[136] Such an inspection of the inner organs of the animal, though not restricted to military sacrifices, played an especially important role there. The reading of the signs was a specialist skill, the *mantikè téchne,* which was the domain of the *mántis,* but anyone with an interest in the matter would be familiar with the main principles, such as that the absence of the *processus pyramidalis* (λοβός) meant trouble. In Euripides' *Electra,* Aigisthos only has to take one glance at the splánchna to know that things are not well.[137] And, to turn to a less mythical figure, Xenophon made no secret of the fact that he had acquired a working knowledge of the art of extispicy, a useful thing for a general to have, as a means of checking on the honesty of his *mántis.*[138]

Depictions of *hieroskopía* enjoyed a short-lived popularity in Attic vase painting in the last decades of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Most of the relevant pictures, 19 black figure and 3 red figure, have been assembled and analyzed in some recent studies.[139] This section will therefore be limited to a couple of general observations.

In all of these vase paintings, *hieroskopía* is performed in a military context. Normally the nucleus of the group is formed by a warrior facing left, inspecting the liver that is presented to him by a rather small boy standing opposite him. In most cases the warrior is actually touching the

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[136] Stengel 1920, 60-61.

[137] Euripides, *Electra* 826-829:

ἱερὰ δ' ἐς χεῖρας λαβὼν
Αἴγισθος ἤθρει. καὶ λοβὸς μὲν οὐ προσῆν
σπλάγχνοις, πύλαι δὲ καὶ δοχαὶ χολῆς πέλας
κακὰς ἔφαινον τῷ σκοποῦντι προσβολάς.

[138] Xenophon, *Anabasis* V 6, 29: Σιλανὸς δέ μοι ὁ μάντις ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι· ἤδει γὰρ καὶ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἄπειρον ὄντα διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς· ἔλεξε δὲ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φαίνοιτό τις δόλος καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐμοί. See Pritchett 1979, 48 f. on the relation between *strategós* and *mántis.*

[139] Van der Meer, *BABesch* 54 (1979) 55 ff.; Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 92-108; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576. See also Burow 1989, 72-73; Lissarrague 1990, ch. III. — Two later depictions of *hieroskopía:* the late fifth century relief from Mantineia, showing a woman (probably Diotima) at a palm tree, holding a liver (Athens NM 226: Möbius, *Studia Varia* 1967, 33-46); the gold rhyton from Panagurishte, c. 300 B.C. (Plovdiv: Roux, *AntK* 7 (1964) 30-41).

liver with the fingers of his right hand. In one instance [Fig. 165, V262: Würzburg 507], the warrior holds a small part of the splánchna in his raised right hand (one might think of the gall bladder, though there is no particularly close resemblance). In 18 vase paintings an old man is present at the inspection of the liver; in most instances he stands directly behind the small attendant who holds the liver, and gestures with one of his hands. In one case, the old man has taken the place of the warrior, opposite the boy holding the liver, and is inspecting it himself [Fig. 166, V247: Copenhagen NM 3241]. This picture has other unique features as well: the boy holds up two separate pieces of splánchna for inspection, one in each hand, and there is a table in the background on which lie what in this context are probably meant as other splánchna. Other figures that may be present, more ore less frequently, are other warriors, Scythian archers in their characteristic outfit, women, and dogs.

In one picture, the vase painter has given a mythical connotation to the familiar scene by naming the old man Nestor [V261: Vatican ex Astarita763]. Conversely, in two other ones, their contemporary character is emphasized by a peculiar expedient: the small figure of the boy holding the liver is changed into a slave by the addition of a beard [Fig. 167, V242: Bonn 464.39; V254: Rome VG 47266].[140]

Taken as a whole, the series gives an interesting illustration of how vase painters could play around with, and give somewhat different meanings to, a scene, by shifting around and slightly varying a few stock figures. In most cases, the central part of the representation would suggest a warrior inspecting the splánchna of the sacrificed victim before departing on a campaign. The gesticulating old man in most cases can be interpreted as an experienced *mántis*, expounding on the signs he observes, while in some he may have been given the role of the old father taking leave of the departing warrior.

4.4.3. *Holókausta*

One can easily understand that the type of sacrifice in which the animal was burnt whole offered less scope for vase paintings than the type of sacrificial ceremony that has been our main concern so far. Still, it is a little surprising that *holókausta* are all but absent in the Greek

[140] Cf. Himmelmann 1971.

iconographical material. There is one good example: an Attic red figure oinochoe of the late fifth century B.C. [Fig. 168, V382: Kiel B 55]. It shows a low altar (*eschára*) at the foot of a tree, on which lies a bovine skull and possibly a second animal skull. A man in a long ornate sacerdotal robe pours a libation from a kantharos onto the altar, while a youth holds an oinochoe. On the far right stands Herakles. We have seen Herakles several times participating in a sacrifice, either as sacrificer or as intended victim, but here he appears to be neither. He stands somewhat aloof, not involved in the ritual action, much as the recipient god is represented in comparable vase paintings.[141] The representation is therefore best taken as a sacrifice to Herakles. And since in a sacrifice where the worshippers consumed part of the victim, the head would not normally belong to the god's portion, it is likely that we have here a rare depiction of a *holókauston* in honour of Herakles. In Attika, where Herakles' cult was very widespread and popular, it was by no means usual to offer a holokaustic sacrifice to this deity. On the contrary, often there is much emphasis on the copious sacrificial feast, which more or less mirrored the proverbial gluttony of Herakles himself.[142] But we know of *holókausta* for Herakles elsewhere,[143] and there is nothing against assuming that in Attika too on some occasions he received such sacrifices, as other heroes did.[144]

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[141] E.g. Apollo in [V127: Agrigento 4688; V179: Gotha 51; V202: Port Sunlight 5036; V200: Paris Louvre G 496; V208: Art market]. Herakles is depicted seated at an *eschára* on two very similar Att. rf. bell-kraters of the early 4th century B.C.: Paris Louvre G 508: *ARV*² 1436/1: Ptr of Louvre G 508; *CVA* 5, pl. 2; Pottier III 281, pl. 153; Metzger 1951, 225/59, pl. 29, 2; *LIMC* II Athena 442; IV Hedone 3; Herakles 1373. Paris Mus. Rodin TC 1: *ARV*² 1436/2: Ptr of Louvre G 508; *CVA* 1, pl. 23, 1-2 and pl. 25, 3-5; Metzger 1951, 225/60; Laurens, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 69 fig. 17; *LIMC* IV Hedone 4 ("Auszuscheiden"); *LIMC* IV Herakles, ad 1373.

[142] Woodford, in: *Stud. Hanfmann* 1971, 211-225; Burkert 1985, 210-211.

[143] Kos: *LS* 151 C 8-9: Ἡρακλεῖ ἐς Κο[.....]τον ἀρὴν καυτός. See also the general observation in Herodotos II 44: καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιέειν, οἳ διξὰ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι ἔκτηνται, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ ὡς ἥρῳ ἐναγίζουσι.

[144] In Erchia: *LS* 18 B 14-20: Βο[ηδ]ρομιῶνος τετράδι ἱσ̣ταμένο Βασί̣λει Ἐρχιᾶ ἀμ̣νὴ λευκὴ ὁλό̣καυτος νηφά̣λιος Γ‖‖; In the same sacrificial calendar holokaustic sacrifices to Zeus Epopetes (Γ 19-25) and Epops (Δ 18-23 and E 9-15). — The sacrifice in the Eurysakeion, mentioned in the Salaminioi inscription (*LSS* 19, 35-36), probably was a *holókauston:* the priest's *hierósuna* are given as σκέλος κ̣αὶ δέρματος ἐν Εὐρυσακείωι Δ‖‖ δραχμάς, i.e. "compensation for the leg (σκέλος taken as genitive: σκέλους) and the skin in the Eurysakeion: 13 drachmai." It follows that the leg and the skin themselves were not available as *hierósuna,* which suggests that the animal was

4.4.4. *Memories of sacrifice*

Animal sacrifice, by its very nature, was an ephemeral affair. After the last slice of sacrificial meat had been consumed, no tangible memento of the sacrifice remained. To a certain Hermesandros in Cyrene, this was clearly an unacceptable thought, and he saw to it that his sacrifice of 120 oxen at a festival of Artemis was not forgotten, by setting up two inscriptions commemorating his largesse.[145] And even poor people, who could only afford to sacrifice very little, would not like their little to be soon forgotten.[146] It probably was a common practice to accompany the sacrifice of an animal by the dedication of a more durable votive offering, be it a humble wooden panel or a large marble relief, which in its shape or decoration contained a reference to that sacrifice. Such votive offerings have been the subject of a previous chapter.

Another, simple way of keeping the memory of a sacrifice alive, was by nailing the skull of the victim to the wall of the sanctuary, or, in the case of a domestic sacrifice, to the porch of the house. In vase paintings with sacrificial scenes, such skulls, often adorned with stemmata, are of remarkably frequent occurrence, which suggests that this was a very common custom indeed.[147] This throws an interesting light on a passage from Theophrastos' *Characters,* where he mentions the following as a characteristic feature of the man of petty ambition (μικροφιλότιμος): "When he has sacrificed an ox, he nails up the front part of the skull with the horns, wreathed with enormous fillets, just opposite his door, so that everyone who comes in can see that he has sacrificed an ox."[148] It is not

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burnt whole. To take σκέλος as an accusative, as Sokolowski does, would make an awkward Greek sentence; besides, 13 drachmae as compensation for the skin alone is an unacceptably high amount. An ox hide, at that time, would have been worth something between 6 and 8 drachmai (see Jameson's ingenious calculations, in: Whittaker (ed.) 1988, 107-112).

[145] *ASAtene* 39-40 (1961-62) 312-313 nrs. 161-162:
μνᾶμα τόδ' Ἑρμήσανδρος ὑπὲρ κράνας ὁ Φίλωνος
θῆκε θεᾶι θύσας Ἀρτέμιτος τελετᾶι
βοῦς ἑκατὸν καὶ ἴκατι· τῶν τάδε κεῖται
κόσμος καὶ μνᾶμα καὶ κλέος εὐδόκιμον.

[146] The poor woman in Herondas IV offers both a cock and a pinax to Asklepios.

[147] Some examples: [V128: Athens NM 12491; V131: Boston MFA 95.25; V182: Laon 37.1041; V190: Naples MN 127 929; V124: Port Sunlight 5008]

[148] Theophrastos, *Characteres* 21 (μικροφιλοτιμία), 7: καὶ βοῦν θύσας, τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπατταλεῦσαι, στέμμασι μεγάλοις περιδήσας, ὅπως οἱ εἰσιόντες ἴδωσι ὅτι βοῦν ἔθυσε.

immediately obvious where in this act the *mikrophilotimía* lies. Often the types portrayed by Theophrastos will do things that are not in themselves unusual, but they will exaggerate them. Maybe our man was overdoing the size of the stémmata hung over the skull. Or perhaps we are to assume that the nailing up of skulls of sacrificed animals was customary in sanctuaries, and that decorating your own house with them was considered a bit over the top.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRE-KILL TO POST-KILL

A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF SOME ASPECTS

5.1. WREATHS AND FILLETS

Participants in a sacrificial ceremony would normally wear a wreath round their head.[1] In the representations it is nowhere significantly absent, that is to say that it is indicated in all representations that are sufficiently clear and precise to include such details, i.e most vase paintings. In votive reliefs it can rarely be distinguished now, but it is not unlikely that often it was painted on originally. Wearing a wreath was not in itself distinctive of participation in sacrifice, but was also usual in other religious ceremonies.[2] This created enough of a demand for ready-made wreaths for a poor war widow with five children to earn some sort of living by plaiting wreaths in the myrtle market.[3] And there were many other occasions, less strictly religious, that required a similar adornment, for instance taking part in a wedding,[4] a banquet or a symposion,[5] making a public speech,[6] or being dead.[7] Which makes it a source of comic misunderstandings.

The victims too would be wreathed or hung with fillets.[8] In Aristophanes' *Nubes,* when Strepsiades is handed a wreath by Sokrates, he is

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[1] Blech 1982. Cf. Rudhardt 1958, 258-9.

[2] Cf. Aristophanes, *Nubes* 306-310. Initiation: Aristophanes, *Ranae* 330 with scholion.

[3] Until Euripides persuaded people that there were not any gods, she complains in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* 446-452.

[4] Scholion Aristophanes *Aves* 160.

[5] Aristophanes, *Acharnenses* 1085-1094; *Ecclesiazusae* 838-845; Menander, *Pseuderacles* fr. 451 Koerte, 15-16.

[6] Aristophanes, *Aves* 463-465; *Ecclesiazusae* 131 ff. Parker 1983, 20.

[7] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 599-607 with scholion on 601; *Ecclesiazusae* 538 with scholion. Garland 1985, 139.

[8] Daux, *AntCl* 52 (1983) 167 takes ἄνθειαν in line 44 of the Thorikos *lex sacra* as referring to the adornment of the victim with flowers, but I think the interpretation by Parker, in: Linders & Nordquist (eds.) 1987, 141, is more likely.

afraid that he will be sacrificed.[9] Iphigeneia in Aulis is wreathed for the intended sacrifice.[10] For the adornment of sacrificial animals the verbs *katastéphein* and *stephanoûn* are used.[11] *Stémma* denotes the fillet used for that purpose.[12] It is formed of loose strands of wool with pieces of string tied round it at regular intervals.[13] In vase paintings such fillets are frequently depicted, hung over the horns of bovine victims. On other animals, they are hardly ever seen. Occasionally a sacrificial pig has a fillet or garland round its belly (vase painting [V128: Athens NM 12491], votive relief [R164: Leiden Pb 158]),[14] and once round its neck (what there is of it): [V122: Geneva HR 66]. In votive reliefs, this again is a detail that may have been rendered in paint, leaving no trace.

5.2. The kanoûn

The literary evidence on the use of the kanoûn in sacrificial ritual is quite straightforward. It contained the things that were necessary for the preliminary ritual: the barley corns, the fillet and the knife (olaí, stémma, máchaira).[15] The very straightforwardness of the evidence has misled scholars into assuming that this was it.[16] It was not. The representational evidence shows that it had further uses. In a considerable number of the

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[9] Aristophanes, *Nubes* 255-257.

[10] Euripides, *Iphigenia Aulidensis* 1567.

[11] Ploutarchos, *De defectu oraculorum* 437 a; Loukianos, *De sacrificiis* 12.

[12] E.g. *LS* 151 A 28 ff.; *LSS* 109, 3.

[13] Krug 1968, 125-6 and 136-7.

[14] See also terracotta pig Athens Agora T 3316, *An ancient shopping center* (Agora Picture Books 12, 1971) fig. 61; Apulian askoi, private collection, *Tierbilder aus vier Jahrtausenden. Antiken der Samml. Mildenberg* (1981) nr. 147 and Rome Villa Giulia, Pallottino & Proietti (eds.) 1980, 192 nr. 248. A bull with a similar *dorsuale* on a Hellenistic votive relief from Perdikka Eordaias: Kozani 894, Touratsoglou, *ADelt* 29 (1973-74) B' 3, 725, pl. 522. — In Roman representations of sacrifice the *dorsuale* is much more common; for examples see Scott Ryberg 1955; Torelli 1982; Koeppel, *BJb* 183 (1983) 61-144; and Fröhlich 1991.

[15] See above 2.1.2. *Olaí* may be meant by the black dots in one of the kanâ on the Corinthian amphora [V117: Oslo 6909.5]. On the Boiotian tripod pyxis [V105: Berlin F 1727], a twisted fillet is shown hanging over the rim of the kanoûn, which could be the *stémma*. The knife is never actually shown *in* the kanoûn, but in some of the vase paintings of the myth of Herakles and Bousiris we have seen the two closely associated. See also the fragments of a Boiotian Cabiran skyphos [V111: Brynn Mawr P 217].

[16] Deubner, *JdI* 40 (1925) 210 ff.; Schelp 1975.

post-kill representations, showing the osphûs and/or the splánchna, the kanoûn is present. It might be objected that these are perhaps examples of the vase painters combining several phases of the ritual into one picture. This, however, does not seem likely, for more than one reason. In the first place, the vessel with water to wash the hands (chérnips), a typical pre-kill implement, is never found in a post-kill context. Secondly, we have seen that in some pictures the kanoûn is actually used by an acolyte to bring the god's portions of the slaughtered victim to the sacrificer, who takes them from it to put them on the altar [V178: Frankfurt ß 413; V191: New York 41.162.4]. This use of the kanoûn is also attested by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, admittedly in a description of Roman sacrifice, but the point Dionysios wants to make here, is the similarity between the Roman and the Greek rite.[17] Furthermore, I have argued that in some representations we see the kanoûn being used to bring the thulémata, which are to be thrown onto the god's portion on the altar.[18]

But in the earlier part of the ritual, before the killing of the animal, the kanoûn had other uses too. On a votive relief in the Louvre [R71: Paris Louvre 756], the kanoûn is filled with doughnut-shaped sacrificial cakes, some of which have already been laid on the altar. Some vase paintings too show the kanoûn containing cakes of various forms,[19] e.g pyramid-shaped ones [V149: Naples 2411], such as are often depicted on the tables of hero banquet reliefs, and round ones with a nob in the middle, for which *pópanon monómphalon* would not be an inappropriate name.[20] In the light of the above, the flattish rounded white object in the kanoûn on the Caeretan hydria [V120: Copenhagen NM 13567] is much more likely to be some sort of sacrificial cake or loaf, than a heap of olaí.[21] Finally the

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[17] Dionysios of Halikarnassos VII 72, 15: καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δείραντές τε καὶ μελίσαντες ἀπαρχὰς ἐλάμβανον ἐξ ἑκάστου σπλάγχνου καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου μέλους, ἃς ἀλφίτοις ζέας ἀναδεύσαντες προσέφερον τοῖς θύουσιν ἐπὶ κανῶν· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες ὑφῆπτον καὶ προσέσπενδον οἶνον κατὰ τῶν ἀγνιζομένων.

[18] Above 4.2: *Thulémata*.

[19] E.g. [V339: Brussels A 725; Agrigento; V276: Athens NM 1392; V307: Paris Louvre CA 153].

[20] Cf. *LS* 23, 2-4; 24, 2; 27, 2. *LSS* 80, 5-6. Cf. πόπανον ὀρθόνφαλον *LS* 52, 10 ff.

[21] Interpreted as *olaí* by Johansen, *OpRom* 4 (1962) 74-75 and Hemelrijk 1984, 29. Cf. also the kanoûn apparently containing an ἐλατήρ in Aristophanes, *Acharnenses* 244-246, which was a broad flat cake, see scholion ad *Acharnenses* 246: τοῦ λατῆρος· ἐλατήρ ἐστι πλακουντῶδες πέμμα πλατύ. (- - -) ἔστι δὲ ἄρτος πλατὺς, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἔτνος ἐτίθεσαν καὶ προσῆγον τῷ βωμῷ. (- - -) καὶ πέλανοι παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ. Cf. Hesychios s.v. ἐλατήρ.

many miniature terracotta models of kanâ filled with cakes, found in some Greek sanctuaries, confirm this use of the implement.[22]

In conclusion, we may say that the kanoûn was the means to convey offerings of any kind, and things that were necessary for the sacrificial ceremony, to the altar. Usually this would be the work of the assistant, who would then present the kanoûn to the officiant at the altar, so that he could take out of it what was needed. To see the kanoûn as a mere server or tray, however, would be disregarding the fact that the kanoûn in itself was a ritual implement, as expressed by its distinctive shape. Therefore, if something was put into the kanoûn, this act would already mean a certain degree of consecration. This may be what the Greeks meant by the word *enárchesthai*.[23]

Finally, there is a considerable number of vase paintings depicting someone with a kanoûn at an altar, but without any reference to animal sacrifice. A libation, or at least a cup or oinochoe, is often included in the scene. It is not impossible to regard these pictures as excerpts from scenes of animal sacrifice, but in that case the absence of any reference to the victim is awkward. It is more likely that such pictures were commonly seen as referring to the presentation of bloodless offerings. There were many occasions, apart from animal sacrifice, where prayers would be accompanied by the pouring of a libation and the deposition on an altar of some cakes or barley corns.[24]

5.3. TABLES

In the sacrificial scene in Aristophanes' *Peace,* at line 1033, while the slave is backstage allegedly slaughtering the sheep, Trygaios himself goes to fetche a table.[25] A table would be a practical thing to have at hand, to cut portions from the splánchna as soon as they have been roasted, or to deal with the rest of the meat. We have seen several vase paintings where

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[22] Corinth, Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, kanâ and líkna: Stroud, *Hesperia* 34 (1965) pl. 11; Bookidis & Stroud 1987, 26. — Tiryns Heraion: *Tiryns* I (1912) 85 nr. 155-156. — Argive Heraion: Athens NM 14226 — See also the fragmentary terracotta kanephóros from Phlious: Biers, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 419 nr. 82, pl. 93.

[23] See Stengel 1910, 47-49.

[24] See Stengel 1910, 14. *Odyssey* 4, 759 ff. Cf. Whitehead 1986, 187.

[25] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1033:
καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν οἴσομαι, καὶ παιδὸς οὐ δεήσει.

a table, or sometimes a chopping block, is so used.

But a little later in the *Peace,* when Trygaios' table must have been in full view on the stage, the charlatan-priest Hierokles asks: "Where is the table?"[26] What he is interested in is an entirely different thing from the piece of household furniture Trygaios had fetched. In keeping with the rest of his questions, which are mainly concerned with the usual perquisites of priests, Hierokles is inquiring after the offering-table (*hierà trápeza*), for what was put on that table would usually fall to the priest as well.[27] Offering-tables occur in some vase paintings [V175: Durham 1972.2; V149: Naples 2411]. They are a standard component in the hero reliefs of the banquet type, but they also occur on votive reliefs to other gods, in particular Asklepios, and the Eleusinian deities.[28] The existence of *hierai trápezai,* and the setting of an offering-table in the cult of these deities, is well attested by several inscriptions.[29]

5.4. Altars

Various refined typologies of ancient Greek altars, both real and in representations, have been published.[30] I shall here confine myself to one specific functional distinction, corresponding with a difference in shape, that appears to follow from the ancient literary evidence, i.e. the distinction between *bomós* and *eschára.*[31] A *bomós* is a rectangular altar standing

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[26] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1059: ποῦ τράπεζα.

[27] See above 4.4.1. Also Mischkowski 1917; Dow & Gill, *AJA* 69 (1965) 103-114; Gill, *HarvStClPhil* 70 (1965) 265-269; Gill, *HarvTheolR* 67 (1974) 117-137.

[28] Votive relief from Eleusis, Athens NM 1519, depicting Demeter and Kore seated at one table, and Theos and Thea on a kline at a second table: Svoronos 554, pl. 88; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 91 nr. 156, Beil. 14, 2. For offering-tables on votive reliefs to Asklepios and heroes, see above 2.2.3.

[29] Asklepios: references in Aleshire 1989, 81-2, 108, 308. Eleusinian deities: *IG* II^2 1933-1935. Heroes: e.g. *LS* 1 A 19 ff.; *LS* 20 B *passim; LSS* 20, 14-15; the Thorikos *lex sacra, SEG* 33 (1983) 147 *passim.*

[30] E.g. Yavis 1949; many contributions in: Étienne & Le Dinahet (eds.) 1991.

[31] See Tresp 1914, 91 ff; Stengel 1920, 11 ff.; Rudhardt 1958, 250 f. The principal texts are Herodotos II 44: καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιέειν, οἳ διξὰ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι ἔκτηνται, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ ὡς ἥρῳ ἐναγίζουσι. *Souda* en Hesychios s.v. ἐναγισμοί, ἐναγίσματα· ὁλοκαυτώματα. Various quotations and borrowings from a lost work *Περὶ βωμῶν καὶ θυσιῶν* by a certain Ammonios of Lamptrai (see Tresp 1914, p. 91 ff. fr. 48), the main points of which are: — βωμοὺς θεῶν φησιν, ἐσχάρας δ' ἡρώων. — βωμοὶ

on a base, whereas an *eschára* would be low and set directly on the ground. Since doctors called hollow sores or boils *eschárai* after this type of altar, it probably was circular in plan and hollow. The texts in question suggest a neat bipartite scheme, with on the one hand the cult of heroes (and chthonic deities) characterized by sacrifices of animals burnt whole (*holókausta*) on an *eschára,* and on the other hand the worship of (Olympian) gods, which entailed the burning of only a small part of the animal for the god on a *bomós*, while the rest of the animal would be eaten by the sacrificers. In a classic article of almost half a century ago, A.D. Nock has convincingly shown that the supposed correspondence of participation in the sacrificial meat, and non-participation, with respectively the cult of Olympian gods and the (so called chthonic) cult of heroes, can not be maintained, in the face of an overwhelming amount of (especially epigraphical) evidence to the contrary.[32] In archaeological literature, however, the old bipartite scheme has lingered on.

The other part of the scheme, restricting *bomoí* to the cult of Olympian gods, and *eschárai* to the cult of heroes or chthonic deities in general, is easily refuted by a simple perusal of the representations of sacrifice assembled in this study. The first thing that stands out is, that the altar in almost all instances is a *bomós,* also in the substantial number of votive reliefs to heroes. Only in the rarest of cases do we find an occasional *eschára.* The one vase painting with a possible representation of a holokaustic sacrifice [V382: Kiel B 55] shows an *eschára,* which fits in with the old scheme, but is immediately offset by another vase painting [V206: Vatican 17924] where an *eschára* is combined with the rite of the splánchna (i.e. participation). A vase painting on a kantharos found in the Mycenaean tomb at Menidi, and therefore to be considered as an illustration of hero cult, has an osphûs on a *bomós* (which, in the old scheme, would be both the wrong type of sacrifice, with participation, and the wrong type of altar).

In addition to the representations with sacrificial scenes assembled here, there are many other depictions of altars in combination with identifiable gods. There too, the overwhelming majority of the altars are

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μὲν γὰρ οἱ προσβάσεις ἔχοντες. — ἐσχάραν φησὶ καλεῖσθαι Λυκοῦργος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος τὴν μὴ ἔχουσαν ὕψος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γῆς ἱδρυμένην· ἢ κοίλην, παρ' ὃ καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς τὰ ἐν σώματι κοῖλα ἕλκη ἐσχάρας καλεῖν. Porphyrios, *De antro Nympharum* 6 (p. 60, 14 Nauck): τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς ναοὺς τε καὶ ἕδη καὶ βωμοὺς ἱδρύσαντο, χθονίοις δὲ καὶ ἥρωσιν ἐσχάρας, ὑποχθονίοις δὲ βόθρους καὶ μέγαρα.

[32] Nock, *HarvTheolR* 37 (1944) 141-174 (= *Essays* II, 1972, 575-602).

bomoí of some sort, and the few *eschárai* that are to be found, all occur together with deities that elsewhere are combined with a *bomós*.[33] On the whole it would be advisable to avoid the use of the term chthonic or chthonian in archaeological literature, as it does not appear to stand for any archaeologically definable type of god, cult, sanctuary or altar.[34]

5.5. Fire

Fire, obviously, is mentioned among the first necessities for burnt sacrifice.[35] The usual thing to do, probably, would have been to bring fire in the form of some glowing charcoal in a portable brazier.[36] Kindling and firewood for a private sacrifice could be brought, or bought for a small sum at the sanctuary.[37] The cost of the considerable amounts of firewood needed for large public sacrifices would soon mount up.[38]

In any stage of the sacrificial ritual, and indeed in any context at all, altars may be depicted with a blazing fire, as a sort of visual *epitheton ornans*. Now and then a vase painter might add a touch of realism by painting only a small pilot fire on the altar while the sacrifice was in its initial stage.[39] Later on, when the god's portion is being burnt on the altar and the splánchna are being roasted, there always is a big fire, and remarkably often the vase painters have taken special trouble to depict the carefully and regularly piled up firewood. It was probably common

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[33] See references in Van Straten, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 187-189.

[34] Schlesier, *ScrCllsr* 11 (1991-92) 38-51, convincingly argues that the Olympian/chthonian distinction cannot be usefully applied to ancien Greek ritual on the strength of the textual evidence either. For a more positive view of this distinction see Scullion, *ClAnt* 13 (1994) 75-119.

[35] Aristophanes, *Pax* 948-949:

τὸ κανοῦν πάρεστ' ὀλὰς ἔχον καὶ στέμμα καὶ μάχαιραν,
καὶ πῦρ γε τουτί, κοὐδὲν ἴσχει πλὴν τὸ πρόβατον ὑμᾶς.

[36] Cf. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 36-38:

ἀλλ' ἐκποδὼν πτήξωμεν, ὡς ἐξέρχεται
θεράπων τις αὐτοῦ πῦρ ἔχων καὶ μυρρίνας,
προθυσόμενος, ἔοικε, τῆς ποήσεως.

[37] Cf. *LSS* 22, 7-9, above Chapter Two note 166.

[38] See Linders, in: Hägg *et al.* (eds.) 1988, 267-269; Olson, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 411-420. Also Robert, in: *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (1966) 199.

[39] E.g. [V369: Saint Petersburg KAB 43 f; V384: London F 66; V408: Naples 2200; V149: Naples 2411; V371: Vienna IV 1144].

knowledge, that this was the least one could do to give the gods a fair chance to produce favourable signs.

5.6. Greeks at sacrifice: masters and servants

Animal sacrifice in ancient Greece was not a one man's job. As a minimum, two persons are involved: one officiant, nearly always a bearded man, and at least one assistant, who is usually beardless, and whose lesser status in relation to the officiant is indicated by his size, his costume, or both.

The officiant is normally dressed in a himation. Only in a very few instances does he wear the long loose chiton that is a typical sacerdotal robe.[40] In fact there is only one such unmistakeable priest in the votive reliefs with sacrificial scenes [R95: Eretria 631]. In vase paintings there are perhaps a dozen, often with richly decorated robes.[41] As far as we know, there was no general rule that all Greek priests when officiating would always wear such a robe, so it cannot be excluded a priori, that the bearded sacrificers in himation are also priests. In the vase paintings we have little to go on, to find out whether they are. If, however, in the votive reliefs we were to take all the bearded sacrificers in himation as priests, that would leave us with a statistically improbable amount of fatherless families of worshippers. The officiant in these private sacrifices would normally be the pater familias. Some sacred laws explicitly grant permission to the worshippers themselves to do so.[42]

In vase paintings, the assistants, if they are not naked, may also wear a himation, but more often they are dressed in some kind of working clothes. Some wear a short chiton or a short loin-cloth, which probably means that they are working men or slaves. Sometimes they are equipped with a knife case, indicating their trade as mágeiroi or ártamoi [V13: Athens NM Akr 607; V6: Athens Agora A-P 2197 etc.]. Then again the assistants are young men who have wrapped their himation round their

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[40] Stengel 1920, 47-48; Mantes 1990; cf. Miller, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 313-329.

[41] Priests: [V381: Berlin inv. 3232; V286: Boston 00.334 (?); V173: Darmstadt A 1969.4; V224: Florence 5 B 2; V382: Kiel B 55; V182: Laon 37.1041; V184: Lisbon 11.257; V195: Oxford 1911.617; V198: Palermo V 661 a; V39: Paris Louvre F 10 (?); V55: Private coll.].

[42] E.g. *LS* 69, 25-27; *LSS* 129; *LSA* 24 A 27-30. Graf 1985, 40 and 254. Cf. Rudhardt 1958, 257.

waist, in which case they may be junior members of the family who, for the occasion, act as acolytes. A passage from Isaios proves that a domestic sacrifice could be performed entirely by members of the family, with the pater familias officiating and the younger members of the family assisting, but that it was rather unusual that no slaves were involved.[43]

On votive reliefs, the standard personnel is made up of the maid carrying the kíste, and the male animal handler who also carries the kanoûn. From the way they are treated when there is little space, it is clear that they are only there as an almost inevitable extension of the offerings and the ritual implements. The maid would probably be a domestic slave. The animal handler, who wears an exomis[44] or a loin-cloth (if any clothes can be seen at all), could also be a domestic slave. But from a number of texts we get the impression, that by the fourth century B.C. it was not uncommon to leave the whole business of finding a victim, bringing the necessary paraphernalia such as the kanoûn with its contents, and doing the slaughtering etc., to a hired mágeiros.[45]

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[43] Isaios 8 (*Περὶ τοῦ Κίρωνος κλήρου*), 16: καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τε ἐθεωροῦμεν καθήμενοι παρ' αὐτόν, καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἤγομεν παρ' ἐκεῖνον πάσας· τῷ Διί τε θύων τῷ κτησίῳ, περὶ ἣν μάλιστ' ἐκεῖνος θυσίαν ἐσπούδαζε καὶ οὔτε δούλους προσῆγεν οὔτε ἐλευθέρους ὀθνείους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ πάντ' ἐποίει, ταύτης ἡμεῖς ἐκοινωνοῦμεν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνεχειρουργοῦμεν καὶ συνετίθεμεν καὶ τἆλλα συνεποιοῦμεν, καὶ ηὔχετο ἡμῖν ὑγίειαν διδόναι καὶ κτῆσιν ἀγαθήν, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ὄντα πάππον.

[44] Basically the exomis is a short chiton fastened on only one shoulder. It is defined as a slave's costume in the scholion on Aristophanes, *Vespae* 444, but that probably is too specific for the Classical period; rather more generally a working man's costume, see *Vespae* 444 and *Lysistrata* 662. As the "Old Oligarch" correctly observes, costume by itself was not sufficient to determine someone's social status in Classical Athens; [Xenophon], *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* I 10: ἐσθῆτά τε γὰρ οὐδὲν βελτίων ὁ δῆμος αὐτόθι ἢ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι καὶ τὰ εἴδη οὐδὲν βελτίους εἰσίν. See Gedder, *ClQu* 37 (1987) 307-331; on the iconography of slaves see Himmelmann, *AbhMainz* 1971, nr. 13. Like the short chiton, the exomis was worn by soldiers, who on Attic grave reliefs are sometimes qualified by the inscriptions as Athenian citizens: e.g. Athens NM 953, Kokula 1984, 176 L 74; *IG* II² 7799 (c. 370/360 B.C.) and Paris Louvre 3119, Kokula 1984, 154 L 12; *IG* II² 6345 (c. 370 B.C.). Exomis or short chiton, often combined with the pilos as head gear, was also worn by fishermen: Att. rf. bell-krater Naples 114260, *ARV*² 1064/2: Komaris Ptr; Humphreys, *IntJNautA* 7 (1978) 78 fig. 1. Hellenistic statuettes: Bieber ²1967, pl. 37; Laubscher 1982, 7-8. By the divine ferryman Charon on Attic lekythoi: Sourvinou-Inwood, Charon I, *LIMC* III (1986) 210-225 *passsim*. By the groom leading the horses of the bridal chariot: Att. rf. pyxis Athens NM 1630, Schefold, *UKV* nr. 578; FR III pl. 154; *Cité* fig. 138.

[45] Athenion fr. 1 Kassel-Austin, 40 ff.; Menandros, *Dyscolus* 393 ff.; see Berthiaume 1982.

The typical division of tasks between officiant and assistant or assistants (whatever their precise status), in the successive phases of the sacrificial ritual as depicted in vase paintings, is as follows. The assistant leads the animal to the altar. The assistant holds kanoûn and chérnips, so that the officiant can wash his hands and take the olaí from the basket. The actual killing may be done by the assistant or by both in collaboration. The butcher's work is done by the assistant; he brings the parts destined for the gods to the officiant, who lays them on the altar. The assistant prepares the thulémata and brings them to the altar in the kanoûn. The assistant skewers the splánchna on spits and roasts them over the altar fire. An assistant pours wine from an oinochoe into the cup or phiale held by the officiant, who then makes a libation and says a prayer. And the further cutting up of the animal and roasting and boiling of the meat again is a lot of hard work for the assistants.

5.7. THE CHOICE OF ANIMAL[46]

The iconographical data form an important documentary source for the study of ancient Greek sacrifice. Nevertheless, we should be aware of their limitations. We have encountered a vase painting and a votive relief where the victim was clearly characterized as an adult female pig, and probably a pregnant one [V67: Athens NM Akr 636; R58: Athens Akr 581]. But such precision is rare. More often than not it is impossible to ascertain either the sex or the age of the victim, let alone its colour. The sizes of the animals and the other figures in votive reliefs are largely dictated by considerations other than their respective age. The worshippers normally are smaller than the gods, and the attendant with kanoûn and victim is smaller, and at times very much smaller, than the other human beings. He is smaller as a consequence of his less important status. He may become excessively small as a result of the limited skill of the artisan in accommodating a sizeable group of worshippers in the confined space of a votive relief. And inevitably the size of the victim is to a large extent

[46] Some of the main points in this chapter were first put forward at a conference in Uppsala in 1985, see Van Straten, in: Linders & Nordquist (eds.) 1987, 159-170. I was pleased to learn that around the same time, at another conference, some similar conclusions were arrived at by Jameson, starting from another angle; see Jameson, in: Whittaker (ed.) 1988, 87-119.

determined by the size of its handler. Fortunately the species of animal (bovine, sheep, pig, goat, etc.) is usually unmistakable.

On the other hand, iconographical material has its advantages too, not least of which is its quantity. The number of surviving sacrificial representations is such that a quantitative study would seem feasible. Yet, here again we have to be careful. Firstly, it is in the nature of a quantitative study that it will yield a more or less generalized picture of the average Greek's attitude towards the average, most common types of sacrifice. Special and relatively exceptional cases will remain hidden in the crowd, and will have to be studied individually. Secondly, although quite a significant amount of material remains, we must remember that it is only a very small portion of the original bulk, and we cannot possibly be sure whether this surviving portion even approximately fulfils the conditions that real statisticians would like to apply to a "sample" in the strictly statistical sense of the word. To minimize the dangers it seems advisable to define the classes of material we will be analyzing as precisely as possible, and to take whatever patterns may emerge as significant only at that conjuncture, when they are quite distinct.

In analyzing the relative frequency of various species of sacrificial animals I will for the present purpose limit myself to the three most common types: cattle, sheep and pigs.[47] The classes of material that are sufficiently large are vase paintings and votive reliefs. In addition to these archaeological data, we have records of animal sacrifice in inscribed sacrificial calendars. They are sufficient in number for a similar quantitative analysis.

Sacrificial calendars (diagram)

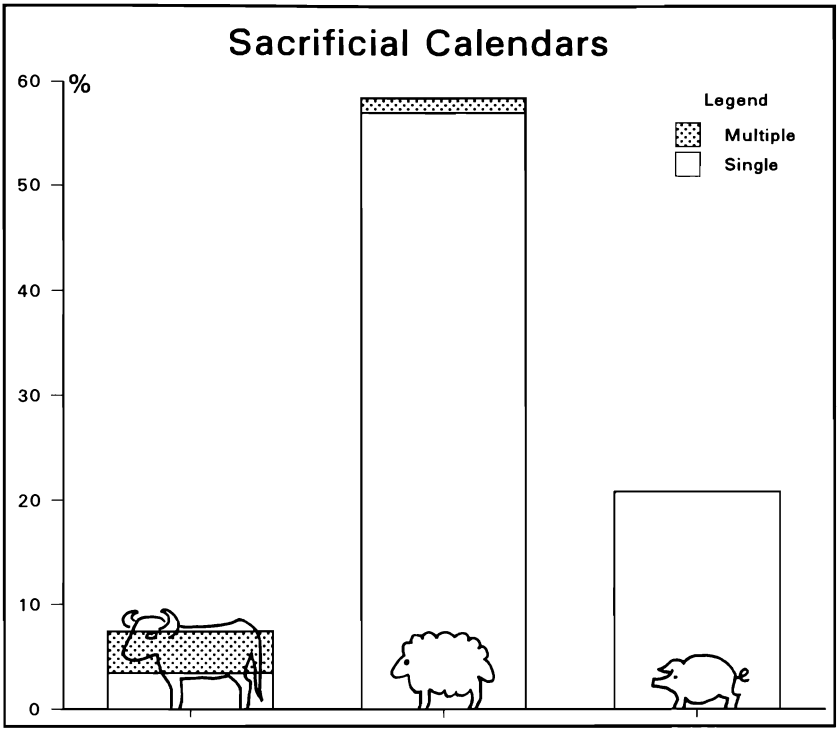
The following five Attic sacred laws have been preserved, either virtually complete, or at least to such an extent that they lend themselves to a quantitative analysis.

1. The sacrificial calendar of the deme Thorikos, probably the oldest of the present group (c. 440/420 B.C.).[48]

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[47] Goats are never very numerous (*c.* 13% in Attic sacred laws, *c.* 9% in vase paintings, *c.* 4% in votive reliefs). They are in the same price class as sheep. The choice of a goat as a sacrificial animal was probably often determined by the nature of the recipient deity; according to the *leges sacrae,* they were mainly sacrificed to Dionysos, Apollo, Artemis and Aphrodite.

[48] *SEG* 33 (1983) 147. Daux, *AntCl* 52 (1983) 150-174, dates the inscription to the first half of the fourth century B.C. ("385 à 370?"). Lewis, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 108, Parker,



2. The fragmentary Athenian law code associated with Nikomachos (c. 403/339 B.C.).[49]

3. The *Demarchía he mézon* of the deme Erchia (first half fourth century B.C.).[50]

4. The sacrificial calendar of the Marathonian Tetrapolis (fourth century B.C.).[51]

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in: Linders & Nordquist (eds.) 1987, 138, and Jameson, in: Whittaker 1988, 115 note 7, all are in favour of a fifth century date, c. 440/430 or 440/420 B.C. See also Whitehead 1986, 194 ff.; Whitehead, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 213-220. On the broader economic implications of the sacrificial calendars see now Rosivach 1994 (the Thorikos calendar is discussed on pp. 22-29).

[49] *LSS* 9-10; Oliver, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 5-32; Dow, *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 31-37; *IG* I^3 237bis-241. See also Robertson, *JHS* 110 (1990) 43-75; Hansen 1990; Rhodes, *JHS* 111 (1991) 87-100.

[50] *LS* 18. Daux, *BCH* 87 (1963) 603-634; Jameson, *BCH* 89 (1965) 154-172; Dow, *BCH* 89 (1965) 180-213; Whitehead 1986, 199 ff.; Whitehead, *AncWorld* 14 (1986) 57-64; Rosivach 1994, 14-29.

[51] *LS* 20. Whitehead 1986, 190 ff.; Rosivach 1994, 29-40.

5. The sacrificial calendar of the *génos* of the Salaminioi (363/2 B.C.).[52]

Taken together these inscriptions record slightly more than 200 occasions on which animals were sacrificed. Here and elsewhere I have not counted the individual victims, but the occasions on which animals were sacrificed. Thus sacrifices comprising more than one victim are counted as one, and in the diagram they are put in the column of the most expensive animal included, but distinguished by a different fill pattern. So they may be disregarded altogether if it is feared that these multiple sacrifices might muddle the issue.

The relative frequency of the occurrence of cattle, sheep and pigs, as shown in the diagram, is as follows: bovine 3.5% (or, if we count the multiple sacrifices, 7.4%), sheep 57% (or 58.4%), pigs 20.8%. The peak of sheep stands out markedly enough to be significant.[53]

Vase paintings (diagram)

A very different pattern is displayed by the vase paintings. To keep the "sample" as close as possible to that of the sacrificial calendars, I have excluded the non-Attic vases. I have also excluded the representations of mythical sacrifices (such as, for instance, Herakles sacrificing on Chryse). We have seen that these mythical sacrifices in vase painting were usually represented in contemporary Athenian guise, and as a source of information they are certainly not to be neglected, but to keep the quantitative analysis as clean as possible it seems safer to put them on one side for the moment.[54] That leaves us with about 115 cases: 54.8% (or, if we include the multiple sacrifices, which are strikingly numerous in this class, 61.7%) cattle, 11.3% (or 13%) sheep, and 12.2% pigs.

Votive reliefs (diagram)

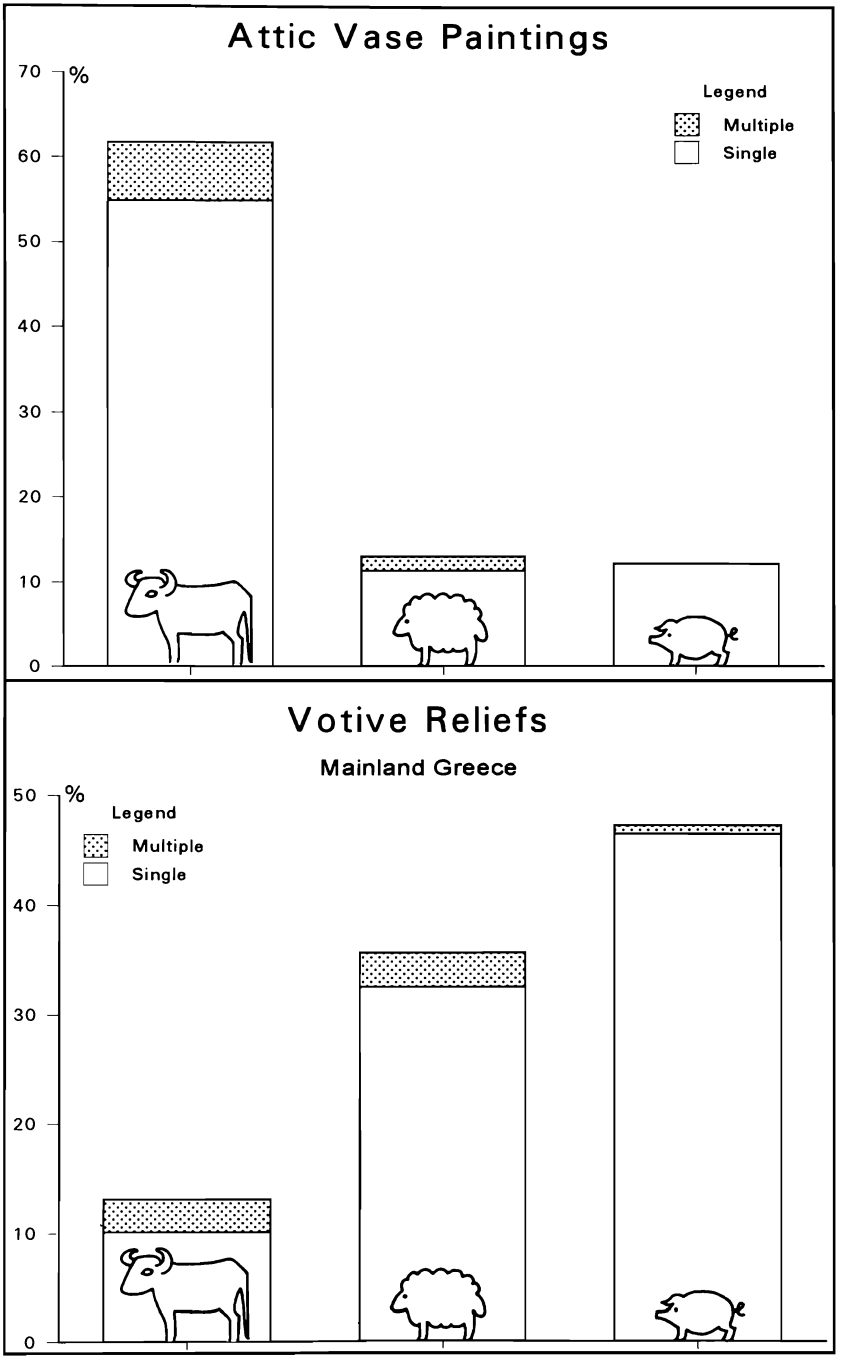
If we pass on to the Classical Greek votive reliefs, another pattern again emerges. Of about 180 cases 7.9% (or 10.1%) are cattle, 39.9% (or 42.1%) are sheep, and 43.8 (or 44.4%) are pigs.

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[52] *LSS* 19. Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 1-74; Rosivach 1994, 40-45.

[53] If the unspecified adult victims (τέλεοι) so frequently mentioned in the Thorikos calendar are to be counted as sheep (which is not improbable), the pattern is even more distinctive.

[54] Also excluded are the goats under handles and in the context of a komos, where they are not clearly identified as sacrificial animals. The animal skulls that are seen hanging in several sacrificial scenes are not counted either.


Attic Vase Paintings
70
%
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Legend
Multiple
Single
Votive Reliefs
Mainland Greece
50
%
40
30
20
10
0
Legend
Multiple
Single

Here one might argue that the evidence is not entirely comparable with the other two classes because the geographical spread is different. The sacred laws and the vase paintings are Attic, and the votive reliefs come from the whole of the Greek world. This discrepancy is not easily eliminated because of a practical problem. For many Greek votive reliefs in museums all over the world the provenance is not, or only approximately, known. If we were to restrict ourselves to material that is undoubtedly Attic, the sample would become rather too small. But it is possible to steer a middle course, and count only the votive reliefs from mainland Greece (just under 130 items). In that case there is a more pronounced peak of pigs (46.5 or 47.3%) as against 32.6 or 35.7% sheep, and 10.1 or 13.2% cattle.

Now when we compare the three sets of material we see that in the sacrificial calendars sheep are clearly predominant, in votive reliefs pigs, and in vase paintings cows and bulls.

It might be objected that the three groups of evidence are not entirely compatible. Not only is there a difference in geographical spread, already remarked upon in connection with the votive reliefs, but there are chronological discrepancies as well. The votive reliefs are nearly all of the fourth century B.C., and so are most of the sacrificial calendars (although here many of the regulations may well be older than the inscriptions), whereas the vase paintings are mainly datable to the fifth century B.C. This cannot be helped. However, for our present purpose it is not unreasonable, in my opinion, to look upon the fifth and fourth century as a continuum. In any case, I cannot see how the slight geographical and chronological discrepancies we are unable to eliminate might explain the differences in relative frequency of occurrence which we observe. How, then, are these differences to be accounted for? It seems strange, after all, that three classes of evidence which, on the face of it, should reflect the same reality, present such divergent patterns.

Prices of victims

Some light may be cast on the matter, if we look into the prices of the sacrificial animals. This is not too difficult, as in several sacrificial calendars not only the species of animal to be sacrificed is stipulated, but

also its price.[55] The relevant data are tabulated below.[56]

PRICES OF VICTIMS IN ATTIC SACRIFICIAL CALENDARS						
	THOR. 440/420 *SEG* 33, 147	STATE 403/399 *LSS* 10	ERCHIA 400/350 *LS* 18	TETRAP. 4th c. *LS* 20	TEITHR. 4th c. *LSS* 132	SALAM. 363/2 *LSS* 19
Bovine:						
βοῦς	40 to 50			90		70
βοῦς κυοῦσα				90		
βοῦς λειπογνώμων		25				
Sheep:						
οἶς		12 / 15	10 / 12	11 / 12		12 / 15
οἶς κυοῦσα/ἐνκύμων			10	16 / 17		12
οἶς ἄρρεν					17	
κριός		17	10 (?)	12		
ἀμνός/ἀρήν			7			
οἶς λειπογνώμων		4			4	
Pig:						
ὗς						40
ὗς κυοῦσα				20		
χοῖρος		3 (?)	3	3		3½
Goat:						
αἴξ		12 (?)	10 / 12	12		10
τράγος				15		
ἔριφος			5			

[55] In the Salaminioi inscription (*LSS* 19) the sacrificial calendar at the end is introduced as (l. 81-82): τὰς θυσίας ἁπάσας καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἱερέων, i.e. "all the sacrifices and the prices of the sacrificial animals" (ἱερέων being either an old-fashioned spelling of ἱερείων, or an idiosyncratic variant of ἱερῶν, cf. ἱερεωσύνας in l. 8-9, and ἱερεῶσθαι in l. 15, etc.). Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 7, translates: "all the sacrifices and the stipends of the priests", but that must be a slip. For priests' stipends we would expect γέρα, not τιμαί, and anyway the relevant part of the inscription does not list priests' stipends, but prices of sacrificial animals.

[56] See above notes 48-52 for references. The fragmentary calendar of the deme Teithras (4th century B.C.): Pollitt, *Hesperia* 30 (1961) 293-297; *SEG* 21, 542; *LSS* 132; Whitehead 1986, 186-187.

Cattle cost from 40 to 90 drachmae a head (a calf is 25 dr.).[57] Adult sheep range from 10 to 17 drachmae.[58] There may be one sheep of 20 dr. in the Thorikos inscription, if Daux' interpretation is correct, of which I am not at all sure.[59] Very young lambs are 4, somewhat older ones 7 drachmae.[60] Adult pigs are 20 to 40 drachmae, young piglets only 3 to 3½.

NUMBER OF YOUNG AND ADULT VICTIMS IN ATTIC SACRIFICIAL CALENDARS					
	THORIKOS	STATE	ERCHIA	TETRAPOLIS	TOTAL
Adult sheep	19	19	30	37	105
Lambs	4	1	4	0	9
Adult pigs	0	0	0	3	3
Sucking-pigs	6	2	10	11	29

The next table shows that the sheep that were sacrificed were predominantly adult animals (92%) as opposed to the pigs, which were mainly young sucking-pigs (*choîroi:* 91%). This, of course, is not particularly surprising in view of the reproductionary habits of these animals. But it is a useful fact, for in the representational evidence, as we saw earlier, it is quite often impossible to distinguish between young and adult victims, but we may now feel confident that there too the majority of pigs are young

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[57] *IG* II² 2311, 71 ff. (400/350 BC.), lists oxen as prizes for victories at various contests at the Panathenaia, at 100 drachmae per head, which probably makes them a bit above average. *IG* II² 1635, 35-37, records the purchase for a festival between 377/6 and 375/4 B.C. of 109 bovine victims for the sum of 8419 dr., which amounts to 77.24 dr. per head; in addition, a little more than 125 dr. was spent on gold leaf and salary for the gilder, no doubt to gild the horns of the sacrificial animals.

[58] The Eleusinian inscription *IG* II² 1673, 62, mentions a price of 12 drachmae for sheep and 17 drachmae for a ram. For a new fragment of this inscription, and the probable date 333/332 B.C., see Clinton, *AEphem* 1971, 83-113; also Clinton, in: Hägg *et al.* (eds.) 1988, 69 f.

[59] Daux, *AntCl* 52 (1983) 169. Twenty drachmae would be an unlikely price for a sheep at that time. The notation of this presumed price, two small deltas written obove one another, is unparalleled and indeed far from obvious. In 329/8 B.C., at a time of drought, sheep and goat were 30 drachmae, cattle 400 drachmae: *IG* II² 1672, 289-290; cf. Garnsey 1988, 89-106.

[60] On the meaning of λειπογνώμων see Hansen, *GrRomByzSt* 14 (1973) 325-332; Rosivach 1994, 148-153, less convincingly argues that λειπογνώμονες are older animals, past their prime. On the sacrifice of young animals in general see Georgoudi, in: Bodson (ed.), *L'animal dans l'alimentation humaine* (*Anthropozoologica*, second numéro spécial, 1988) 75-82; also Schaps, *JHS* 111 (1991) 208-209.

and the majority of sheep are adult. So roughly speaking pigs, sheep, and cattle may be thought of as points on a rising scale of livestock prices.

Now let us look more closely at the three classes of evidence: do they really reflect the same reality?

We may assume that both the sacrificial calendars and the votive reliefs faithfully recorded sacrifices that had actually been made or had to be made. But there is an important difference. The sacrificial calendars all refer to communal sacrifices, whether the community be the polis, a group of demes, a single deme, or a *génos*.

It so happens that the surviving fragments of the state calendar do not include any of the greater festivals at which large hecatombs were sacrificed, and consequently give a distorted view of the sacrifices of the polis. From other inscriptions we may form a picture of the size of these hecatombs. In 410/9 B.C. for the hecatomb at the Greater Panathenaia 5114 drachmae were made available by the treasurers of Athena.[61] At a price of 50 drachmae a cow, this alone would buy a literal *hekatómbe,* and this number of victims would yet be augmented by the Athenian colonies and the member states of the Delian league, each of whom had to contribute one cow to the Greater Panathenaia.[62] For the hecatomb of the Lesser Panathenaia, at some time between 335/4 and 330/29 B.C., 4100 drachmae were provided.[63] A little later in the fourth century, a sum of 2000 drachmae was voted for official sacrifices to Agathe Tyche.[64] For part of the year 334/3 B.C. we have the records of the receipts for the sale of hides from sacrificial victims by the Athenian state.[65] Seven months' worth of hides amounted to a little over 5099 drachmae, equivalent, according to Jameson's calculations, to the hides of between 850 and 1000 full-grown cattle sold by the officials.[66]

In view of these data, it would be more accurate to regard the evidence of the sacrificial calendars tabulated above as typical of communal sacri-

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[61] *IG* I³ 375, 7-8.

[62] *IG* I³ 34 (*IG* I² 66; Meiggs & Lewis 1969, 46); *IG* I³ 46 (*IG* I² 45; Meiggs & Lewis 1969, 49); *IG* I³ 71 (*IG* I² 63; Meiggs & Lewis 1969, 69). Scholion Aristophanes, *Nubes* 386. Meiggs 1972, 292 ff. Malkin 1987, 122; Mattingly, in: Carradice (ed.) 1987, 66-67.

[63] *IG* II² 334; *LS* 33.

[64] *IG* II² 1195 with additional fragments: Walbank, *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 233-239, line 28-30 on p. 235; on Agathe Tyche see also Tracey, *Hesperia* 63 (1994) 241-244.

[65] *IG* II² 1496.

[66] Jameson, in: Whittaker (ed.) 1988, 107-112; see also Rosivach 1994, 48-64 and 155-157.

fices of an intermediate level, between the polis and the single family.

The votive reliefs, on the other hand, with hardly any exceptions, are documents of private worship, recording private sacrifices made by individuals or families. "People should worship the gods and the local heroes, communally in accordance with the ancestral laws, privately according to their means", Drakon's law stipulates.[67] A similar distinction between communal and private sacrifice seems to be implied in an inscription from Thasos.[68] And throughout the *leges sacrae* the same principle underlies the very precise prescriptions as to species and price of victims for communal sacrifices listed in the sacrificial calendars, as opposed to the clause that private persons may sacrifice whatever they wish.[69] It is only to be expected that, on average, private persons sacrificed cheaper animals than whole demes or other communities, and therefore the proportions of sheep and piglets in sacrificial calendars and votive reliefs are naturally different.

Vase paintings are another matter altogether. Some vases with scenes of sacrifice may have been ordered as special commissions, to serve as votive gifts commemorating a particular sacrifice.[70] Normally, however, the vase painter's choice of subject was guided by other considerations. The workshop would want to produce vases that would sell well, decorated with scenes of general interest, which people might find attractive. If, therefore, the vase painter occasionally drew his inspiration not from myth but from contemporary cult, it is obvious that he would prefer to select the more festive occasions with grand and expensive sacrifices in which many people participated.[71] This, I think, explains the high density in this class of evidence of expensive cows and bulls and of sacrifices comprising several animals.

At this point we may perhaps draw a provisional conclusion. Irrespective of whether the explanations here proposed are accepted, it is at any

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[67] Porphyrios, *De abstinentia* 4, 22: θεοὺς τιμᾶν καὶ ἥρωας ἐγχωρίους ἐν κοινῷ ἑπομένους πατρίοις νόμοις, ἰδίᾳ κατὰ δύναμιν, σὺν εὐφημίᾳ καὶ ἀπαρχαῖς καρπῶν καὶ πελάνοις ἐπετείοις.

[68] *LSS* 67 (4th cent. B.C.): Διονύ[σωι --] | βôν ἢ αἶγ[α ἢ κριὸν θύειν] | οἱ δὲ ἰ ἰδι[ῶται ὅ τι ἂν] | θέλωσ[ιν --].

[69] E.g. *LS* 69, 30-31: θύειν δὲ ἐξ|εῖν ἅπαν ὅτι ἂν βόληται ἕκαστος.

[70] See above 2.1.1: *Sacrifices on votive pots*.

[71] On the significance of ritual festivals and ceremonial in civic life see Connor, *JHS* 107 (1987) 40-50. See also Sarah Peirce's recent article on revelry and thysia, *ClAnt* 12 (1993) 219-266.

rate evident that in the study of Greek sacrifice the various types of evidence should not be thrown indiscriminately together. Each class of evidence has its own peculiarities that should be taken into account.[72]

Whether my suggestion is convincing that the value of the victims is of crucial significance remains to be seen. Let me enlarge a little and try to avoid any misunderstandings. There can be absolutely no doubt, of course, that on some specific occasions Ge, for instance, would only accept a black he-goat,[73] or Demeter a pregnant ewe,[74] and that on other occasions the sacrifice of a particular animal, for instance a pig or a goat, was strictly forbidden.[75] But these are special cases, forming a fascinating but relatively small minority, which do not greatly influence the overall picture. It is my contention that for the remaining majority of sacrifices the choice of victim is largely dependent on its value.

That the common people in ancient Greece were very much preoccupied with the value of their offerings appears from various texts. In a much quoted passage, Theophrastos holds that it is not the *plêthos* of the offerings that counts but the *êthos* of the sacrificer.[76] His insistence on this point in itself suggests that many people thought otherwise. We have already made our acquaintance with the *mikrophilótimos,* as portrayed by the same Theophrastos, who, after having sacrificed an ox nails up the skull at his front door, and decorates it with enormous garlands, so that everyone who comes in can see, not just that he has sacrificed, but that he has sacrificed an ox, no less.[77]

In Aristophanes' *Peace* Trygaios and his slave start their deliberations as to the type of animal to be slaughtered for the foundation of the cult of Eirene by considering a cow; by way of a joke, however, the cow is discarded in favour of a great fat pig, which in turn is discarded in a similar manner, and eventually a sheep is decided upon.[78] Thus, their puns have served to beat down the choice of victim from the most expensive to one in a more popular price class. In the *Birds* Aristophanes has Pisthe-

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[72] Kadletz 1976 suffers from a lack of discrimination, in this respect.

[73] Marathonian Tetrapolis: *LS* 20, B 17-18: τράγος παμμέλας.

[74] E.g. Thorikos: *SEG* 33 (1983) 147 lines 38-39 and 44-45: οἶν κυῶσαν.

[75] See Robert, *Hellenica* VII (1949) 163; Idem, in: *Ess. C. Bradford Welles* (= *Am. Stud. Papyr.* 1, 1966) 196 ff. Sokolowski, *LSA* p. 109 and *LS* p. 222.

[76] Theophrastos, *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* fr. 7 Pötscher.

[77] Theophrastos, *Characteres* 21 (μικροφιλοτιμία), 7: ὅτι βοῦν ἔθυσεν.

[78] Aristophanes, *Pax* 925-937.

tairos concoct the following argument: "Incidentally I'll tell you another useful thing we can do for you. Suppose a man vows an offering to any of you gods, and then, when the time comes—well you know how it is, one excuse or another: 'the gods are patient', he'll say, to quiet his conscience—the miserly rascal. We'll make him pay up. - - - When he's counting out his money, or lying in his bath, a kite can swoop down, snatch up the price of two sheep, and bring it back to the god concerned."[79]

In Menander's comedy *Pseuderakles* a mágeiros rather impertinently criticizes his employer who makes a great show of setting several tables for the sacrificial banquet, but sacrifices only one little piglet.[80] A similar criticism is expressed by the same author in his *Methe*.[81] In Herondas' fourth mimiambus the women visiting the temple of Asklepios apologize to the god for their humble gift, a cock and a votive tablet. "For"—they say—"we are women of slender means, otherwise we might have offered an ox or a fattened pig."[82] Value obviously mattered. To put it more bluntly, sacrificial animals were often thought of in terms of quantity of meat, rather than individual beings with specific biological characteristics.[83]

Sheep at two prices

In the sacrificial calendars there are various expressions for young and not so young lambs (οἷς λειπογνώμων, ἀρήν, ἀμνός), rams (κριός, οἷς ἄρρην), and pregnant ewes (οἷς κυοῦσα/ἐγκύμων), each with its own price, but *oîs* without further specification regularly comes in two prices. What might be the difference between a cheaper and a more expensive *oîs?*

Several scholars have remarked on this phenomenon, but always in passing, as it were, without really going into the subject. It has been suggested that the difference in price corresponds to a difference in age or

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[79] Aristophanes, *Aves* 1616-1625.

[80] Menander, *Pseuderakles* fr. 451 Koerte.

[81] Menander, *Methe* fr. 264 Koerte. More sneers at meagre victims: Aristophanes, *Aves* 898-901; Hermippos fr. 36 Kassel-Austin; Menander, *Samia* 399-404; *Sicyonius* 183-186; Euphron fr. 1 Kassel-Austin; Theokritos 4, 20-22.

[82] Herondas IV 14-17.

[83] See also Aristophanes, *Plutus* 133-141; Plato, *Respublica* II 378 a.

quality.[84] That is not a very satisfactory solution. It does not explain why there should always be two prices, never three or four. And if the difference in price were an indication of a difference in quality, one would expect a correlation with the relative importance of the recipient deities or the occasion on which the sacrifices were made. Such a correlation, however, is nowhere apparent.

PRICES OF SHEEP IN ATTIC SACRIFICIAL CALENDARS					
	STATE 403/399 *LSS* 10	ERCHIA 400/350 *LS* 18	TETRAP. 4th c. *LS* 20	TEITHR. 4th c. *LSS* 132	SALAM. 363/2 *LSS* 19
οἷς -> GOD	15	12	12		15
οἷς -> GODDESS	12	10	11		12
οἷς κυοῦσα/ἐνκύμων		10	16 / 17		12
οἷς ἄρρεν				17	
κριός	17	10 (+?)	12		
ἀμνός/ἀμνή		7			
ἀρήν		7			
οἷς λειπογνώμων	4			4	

The thought forces itself upon us that the two prices should correspond with some sort of bipartition of the sheep population, and then the most obvious one, of course, is that based on sex. This explanation, which has been put forward tentatively by George Daux,[85] and more firmly by Sterling Dow,[86] seems to find support in the fact that in all cases, without any exceptions, the more expensive *oîs* is destined for a male deity and the cheaper one for a female deity. So we are reminded of the ancient rule, usually quoted in the words of Arnobius, that to female deities female victims are sacrificed, male victims to male deities.[87] The exceptions to this rule are far from rare, yet enough of a minority to warrant the use of the word "rule", as has been shown by E. Kadletz in his dissertation.[88]

Still, there remains a difficulty. If the unspecified *oîs* sacrificed to a

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[84] Oliver, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 27.

[85] Daux, *BCH* 87 (1963) 632.

[86] Dow, *BCH* 89 (1965) 200 f.

[87] Arnobius, *Adversus nationes* 7, 19: *diis feminis feminas, mares maribus hostias immolari.*

[88] Kadletz 1976.

male god is in fact a ram, what about the *kriós* and the *oîs árren* that are mentioned in the same sacrificial calendars, and which are sometimes priced even higher than the god's *oîs*?[89] Indeed, if we disregard the lambs and the pregnant ewes, the sacrificial calendars confront us not with a bipartition of the adult sheep population, but with a division into three groups, namely two large groups of unspecified *oîs* sacrificed respectively to gods and goddesses, and a much smaller group of definitely male sheep or rams (*oîs árren, kriós*).

It might help us to understand this tripartition, if we were more familiar with the practical details of flock management in Classical Greece. Unfortunately, there is very little information on the subject pertaining to the Classical period.[90] However, it may be worthwhile to go back to an earlier period in Greek history. The Linear B archives of Mycenaean Knossos contain records of numerous flocks of sheep. The sheep ideogram used in these tablets differentiates between male and female sheep. J.T. Killen has convincingly, and indeed brilliantly, argued that the male-sheep-ideogram could also be used, and was in fact generally used, to

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[89] The only *kriós* that is cheaper than the more expensive *oîs* is in the Erchia calendar: *LS* 18 E 58 (I follow Sokolowski's line numbering). However, the text as published by Daux, *BCH* 87 (1963) 603-634, may need correction. Under the heading, the Erchia inscription has five columns; all are inscribed *stoichedon*, with 11 letters per line in column A, 10 letters per line in columns B-Δ, and 9 letters per line in column E. The text being inscribed in the usual *scriptio continua*, any word may be divided and wrapped to the next line at any point, so there should be no problem in keeping to a strict *stoichedon* pattern. There is one exception: the prices of the victims are given as numerals, composed of acrophonic signs (e.g. Γ for πέντε, Δ for δέκα, etc.), and these numerals are never split up over two lines. To keep all the signs of a numeral together, the stone cutter has, on several occasions, had to cramp one or two more letters into a line than would have been normal for that column, and then the letters inevitably are slightly out of line with those on the lines above and below (some examples from column E on the right, where the standard number of letters per line is nine: line 30 eleven letters, line 38 ten letters). Now, if we look at line E 58 in the same column, we may observe that the last letter on the right (Δ: being the price of the ram in question) is slightly out of line, to the left, with the corresponding letters above and below (see photographs in Daux p. 605 fig. 1, and pl. XIV). As it stands, this line has the standard number of 9 letters. The obvious reason for its irregularity is, that originally it had one or two extra letters that are now lost on the right (the right edge of the stone is chipped at this point). In the context the most likely restoration for the numeral at the end of line E 58 would be either Δ[ΗΗ] or Δ[Γ], i.e. a price of 12 or 15 drachmae for our ram.

[90] See the contributions of Hodkinson and Jameson in Whittaker 1988; Isager & Skydsgaard 1992, 83-104, 191-198; also, on flock sizes in Classical Greece, Alcock *et al.*, in: Morris (ed.) 1994, 153.

describe wethers (that is castrated rams).[91] His argument is based on the internal evidence of the tablets, on the ethological characteristics of ewes and rams, and on a comparison with ancient Near Eastern and medieval English records of flock management. It appears that in Late Bronze Age Crete the sheep population consisted of large flocks of wethers and ewes, and a much smaller number of rams needed for breeding purposes. The advantages of keeping wethers were, among other things, their higher wool yield and the superior quality of their mutton.

Unfortunately, detailed information such as is contained in the Knossos tablets is not available for the Classical period. Flock management is not a subject often discussed by the Classical authors, and on the few occasions that they have something to say on the subject, knowledge of such infrastructural data as the composition of the sheep population is taken for granted. Nevertheless, several passages in Aristotle, Varro, Columella, Pliny and Galen imply that large flocks of wethers were kept throughout antiquity and that the castration of male lambs was a regularly recurring large-scale operation.[92]

Against this background it would seem likely that the two large groups of unspecified *oîs* mentioned in the Attic sacred laws as victims for gods and goddesses respectively were taken from the flocks of wethers and ewes. So unless it was explicitly stipulated that the victim should be *enórches,* an *oîs árren,* or a *kriós,* the sheep normally sacrificed to gods would be wethers.

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[91] Killen, *BSA* 59 (1964) 1-15.

[92] Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 632 a; Varro, *De re rustica* II 2, 18; Columella, see G.G. Betts & W.D. Ashworth, *Index to the Uppsala edition of Columella* (1971) s.v. "castro" etc.; Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 8, 84 and 30, 5, 41; Galen, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς δυνάμεων* III 6 (Περὶ ὄρχεων): τοὺς ὄρχεις τῶν νέων ὑῶν καὶ τῶν βοῶν ἐκτέμνουσι παρ' ἡμῖν οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἕνεκα χρείας, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ὑῶν χάριν τῆς ἐδωδῆς (καὶ γὰρ ἡδίων καὶ τροφιμώτερα γίγνεται καὶ πεφθῆναι βελτίων ἡ σὰρξ τῶν ἐκτμηθέντων ὑῶν), τῶν δὲ βοῶν ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν χρείας. δυσπειθεῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν οἱ ταῦροι. τῶν δ' αἰγῶν καὶ τῶν προβάτων κατ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς χρείας ἐξαιροῦσι τοὺς ὄρχεις.
A late Phrygian shepherd's gravestone (Bursa 39, Pfuhl & Möbius II nr. 1164, pl. 174) has under the bust of the deceased a relief depicting a ram, sheep-shears, and a knife. The knife is interpreted by Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (1937) 206: "Il se peut que se soit un couteau à châtrer les moutons, comme on me le suggère." Waelkens, *Ancient Society* 8 (1977) 286 accepts this possibility. Pfuhl & Möbius disagree: "Schwerlich zum Kastrieren, das pflegt bei Widdern mit Steinen zu geschehen", but this would seem to be refuted by the Greek usage of ἐκτέμνειν and its derivatives for "castrating" etc. On the castration of young bulls see also Georgoudi 1990, 218-219 and 280-282.

In a time when much of the material we have been discussing was still unknown, both Stengel and Ziehen were convinced that castrated animals could be sacrificed in ancient Greece. Stengel refers to the Molpai-inscription from Miletus,[93] where a *hekatómbe* is mentioned consisting of three adult animals of which one is to be female (*thêlu*) and one an uncastrated male (*enorchés*). Nothing is said about the third. "Das dritte ist also kastriert", Stengel remarks.[94] I am not sure that his logic is entirely impeccable on this point, for it might also be argued that the sex of the third animal was thought immaterial. Ziehen writes: "Im allgemeinen waren kastrierte Tiere nicht Grundsätzlich verboten, wass schon daraus hervorgeht, dass die Opfer-Gesetze bisweilen ausdrücklich nichtkastrierte Tiere (*énorcha*) verlangten."[95]

But is not it an appalling, even sacrilegious, thought that castrated animals should be sacrificed to the gods? Are not there several texts, from Aristotle down to Pollux' *Onomastikon,* insisting that sacrificial animals should be perfect and undamaged?[96] That is certainly true, although the explicit interdiction of castrated animals is, as far as I know, only found in post-classical texts. But theory and practice do not always coincide, as we saw above in the matter of the victims' alleged willingness to go to the sacrifice. And as far as our wethers are concerned, the matter may also be looked at from another angle. If there is any truth in my earlier assumption that, on average, a sacrificial animal was largely looked upon as a certain quantity of meat, then wethers might even be considered more perfect, in their own way, than uncastrated animals. According to Aristotle "All animals, if castrated when they are young, become bigger and

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[93] *LSA* 50, 18-20.

[94] Stengel 1910, 191.

[95] Ziehen, *RE* XVIII 593.

[96] E.g. Athenaios XV 674 f (= Aristotle fr. 101 Rose): Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ φησὶν ὅτι οὐδὲν κολοβὸν προσφέρομεν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ἀλλὰ τέλεια καὶ ὅλα. Ploutarchos, *De defectu oraculorum* 437 b: δεῖ γὰρ τὸ θύσιμον τῷ τε σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀσινὲς καὶ ἀδιάφθορον. Loukianos, *De sacrificiis* 12: ἀλλ' οἵ γε θύοντες—ἐπ' ἐκείνους γὰρ ἐπάνειμι—στεφανώσαντες τὸ ζῷον καὶ πολύ γε πρότερον ἐξετάσαντες, εἰ ἐντελὲς εἴη, ἵνα μηδὲ τῶν ἀχρήστων τι κατασφάττωσι, προσάγουσι τῷ βωμῷ καὶ φονεύουσιν. Cf. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 83-84 and scholion ad 83; Hermippos fr. 36 Kassel-Austin; Scholion Aristophanes *Aves* 873; Scholion Demosthenes 21, 171; Pollux I 29. Compare the much more explicit restrictions in *Leviticus* 22, 24. On the inspection of sacrificial animals see also Gauthier, *AnnPisa* 14 (1984) 845-848.

better looking than their uncastrated fellows."[97] And Galen informs us that their meat is of a better quality.[98]

5.8. The choice of moment

When a vase painter set himself to decorate a pot, or a sculptor to carve a votive relief, with a sacrificial scene, one of the decisions he had to make was, which moment in the sequence of sacrificial ritual he would depict. The word "moment" in this context must be taken in a broad sense. The relief or vase painting need not necessarily have the typical qualities of a photographic snapshot; the artisan could take the liberty to combine in one picture elements of the ritual that were not strictly simultaneous. We have indeed seen such synoptic pictures, but it must be said that they never stray very far from the concept of a unity of time. If we stay with the rough division of the sacrificial ritual into a pre-kill, kill, and post-kill phase, we may observe that these three phases, or two of the three, were never conflated into a single picture. So clearly the artisan chose, if not a precise moment, at least one of the three main stages of the ceremony. The question arises, whether any one phase was chosen more often than the others, and whether different classes of material display different patterns of preference.

Vase paintings (diagram)

If we do not count mythical sacrifices and representations where sacrifice is only a secondary subject (in these cases the choice of moment might be determined by elements that have nothing to do with the sacrifice itself), and if we also ignore some dubious examples, there remains a total of 155 Attic black and red figure vase paintings depicting sacrifice. Of these 55.5% are pre-kill; 4.5% kill; 40% post-kill.

Votive reliefs (diagram)

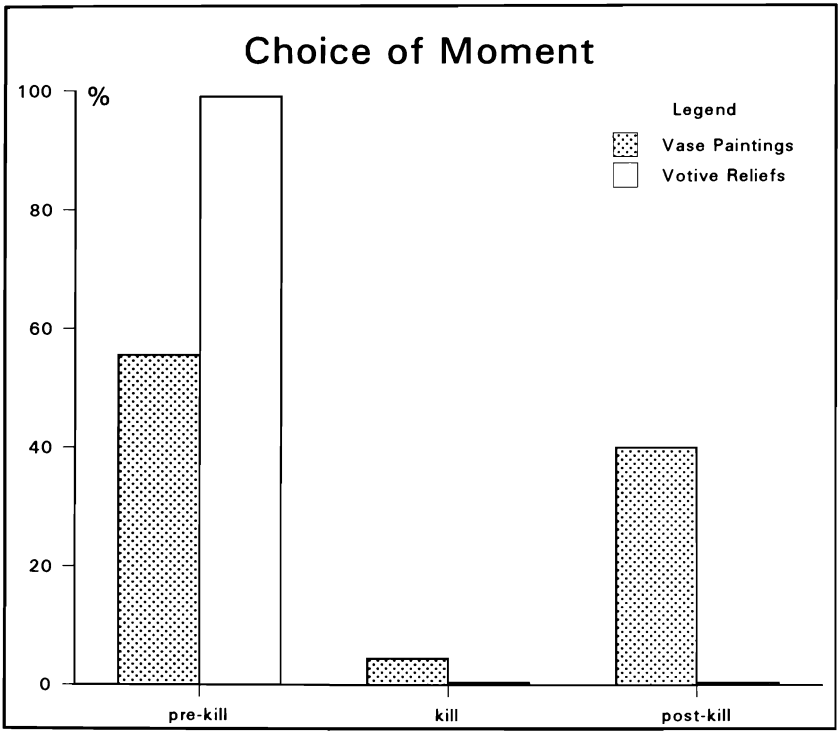
Classical Greek votive reliefs show a markedly different pattern. Of a total of close to 200, 99% are pre-kill; 0.5(?)% kill; 0.5(?)% post-kill. The dubious 0.5% for kill and post-kill each represent one relief: [R225:

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[97] Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 632 a 9 ff.: πάντα δ' ἐὰν μὲν νέα ἐκτμηθῇ, μείζω γίγνεται τῶν ἀτμήτων καὶ γλαφυρώτερα.

[98] See above note 92.

Chalkis 7], which certainly shows the killing of the animal, but may not be a votive relief, and [R47: Rhamnous 102], which is an unimpeachable votive relief, but has a very doubtful osphûs. If we include the relief from Echinos [R75^{bis}: Lamia AE 1041] in the kill-group, its score goes up to a whole percent.



The diagram shows quite different patterns for the two types of material, but they have one thing in common: the actual killing is strikingly under-represented. The 4.5% (equalling 7 representations) in vase paintings may even be a little inflated. In this group I have not only included pictures of the precise moment that the killing instrument (axe or knife) hits or pierces the body of the victim, but also those showing the immediately preceding moment. Furthermore, two of the seven probably depict sphágia before a battle, and therefore refer to an entirely different kind of ritual than the festive sacrifices that are the subject of most or all of the other representations. If a vase painter chose to paint sphágia, he could hardly get round depicting the killing itself. Two other representations of the killing have the additional attraction of the lifting of the bull. So all

things considered, the amount of interest in the killing as such is remarkably unimpressive.

For the under-representation of the moment of killing various, even conflicting, explanations might be proposed. The most straightforward one would be: lack of interest in this particular aspect of sacrifice on the part of those Greeks whose religious beliefs are reflected in this material, shall we say, the common people in the Classical period. At first sight this view might seem to be opposed to Burkert's conception of the "Opfertötung" as "Grunderlebnis des Heiligen".[99] However, the two need not be irreconcilable. That part of the ritual that may have been the predominant element in the remote past, and perhaps was still felt to be crucial at least by some Classical Greeks whose ideas have survived in our literary sources, could well have been of little interest to the mass of the people, whose votive reliefs and vase paintings we have.

In addition to their common lack of interest in the killing itself, votive reliefs and vase paintings share a preference for the pre-kill phase. Vase paintings display a little more variety in the depiction of this phase, in particular by the addition of the washing of the hands in the vessel with water specially provided for that purpose (the chérnips). This motif is not found on votive reliefs.[100]

But why should representations on votive reliefs be nearly 100% pre-kill, whereas in vase painting a considerable portion, though still a minority, is post-kill? We must try and explain that difference starting from the respective functions and uses of these two classes of material.

Votive reliefs with sacrificial representations would usually be set up in a sanctuary by private persons to keep alive the memory of a real sacrifice. In a monument of this kind, certain essential pieces of information are indispensable, such as the species of animal sacrificed. For this, as we saw in the previous section, was at the same time an indication of its value. In the final phase of the sacrificial ritual, after the animal had been killed and cut in pieces, the species would no longer be easily recognizable.

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[99] Burkert 1972, 9-10: "Grunderlebnis des 'Heiligen' ist die Opfertötung. Der *homo religiosus* agiert und wird sich seiner selbst bewusst als *homo necans*. Dies ist ja 'Handeln' schlechthin, ῥέζειν, *operari*—woraus das Lehnwort 'Opfer' übernommen ist—, eine Benennung, die den Kern dieses 'Handelns' euphemistisch verschweigt." See Dumbrowski, *Numen* 23 (1976) 136-144, and Burkert's reply, *Numen* 25 (1977) 77-79.

[100] The vessel may possibly occur once: [R8: Athens NM 1333].

Now what about the vase paintings? The vase painter in principle is much freer in the choice of his subject than the carver of votive reliefs. He is not usually very much of an original, inventive artist, but rather an artisan, working within a traditional framework, and catering for the demands of the general public, following the current contemporary ideas, conceptions and prejudices. Seen in that light, what is there in the post-kill phase of sacrificial ritual that would make it an attractive subject for producers and buyers of pots?

If we survey the relevant vase paintings, two recurring features that would have been of interest to the general public in ancient Greece catch the eye.[101] Firstly, the *splanchnóptai:* acolytes who roast the inner organs of the victim, skewered on spits, over the altar fire. After they were done, part of the splánchna was given to the gods and the rest, while still warm, was immediately consumed on the spot by the sacrificers, who accompanied this rite by prayers and libations. The type of Greek sacrifice under discussion, where the victim was shared out among the recipient god and the human participants in the ritual, brought about a kind of communion, between the gods and the sacrificers, and among the human participants themselves.[102] As Eryximachos in Plato's *Symposium* puts it: sacrifices are all about the communion between gods and men.[103] This communion is

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[101] The Attic vase paintings with post-kill sacrificial representations break down as follows: the *splánchna* (alone or with the *osphûs*) are depicted on over 75% of this group, the *osphûs* (alone or with the *splánchna*) on nearly 50%; the opening up of the carcass or the extraction of the inner organs is depicted on *c.* 6%; the post-splanchnal or taratalla-representations are a mere 5% (if we exclude the pictures that lack an explicit reference to the sacrificial ritual).

[102] Demosthenes, 19 (*Περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας*):

190 ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι πάντες οἱ πρυτάνεις θύουσιν ἑκάστοτε κοινῇ καὶ συνδειπνοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συσπένδουσιν· καὶ οὐ διὰ ταῦθ' οἱ χρηστοὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς μιμοῦνται, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἀδικοῦντα λάβωσί τινα αὐτῶν, τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δηλοῦσιν. ἡ βουλὴ ταὐτὰ ταῦτα, εἰσιτήρια ἔθυσε, συνειστιάθη, σπονδῶν, ἱερῶν ἐκοινώνησεν. οἱ στρατηγοί, σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν αἱ ἀρχαὶ πᾶσαι.

280 (Harmodios and Aristogeiton), οὓς νόμῳ διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας, ἃς ὑπῆρξαν εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις σπονδῶν καὶ κρατήρων κοινωνοὺς πεποίησθε καὶ ᾄδετε καὶ τιμᾶτε ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς.

Menander, *Dyscolus* 560-562:

κεκοινηκότες
ἱερῶν γὰρ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ χρησιμώτεροι
ἡμῖν ἔσονται σύμμαχοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν γάμον.

See also Isaios 8 (*Περὶ τοῦ Κίρωνος κλήρου*), 15-16; Plato, *Laches* 187 d-e; Xenophon, *Anabasis* V 3, 9.

[103] Plato, *Symposium* 188 b-c: ἔτι τοίνυν καὶ αἱ θυσίαι πᾶσαι καὶ οἷς μαντικὴ ἐπιστατεῖ—ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ θεούς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινω-

most succinctly demonstrated in the ritual of the splánchna as expressed by such Greek phrases as συσπλαγχνεύειν (join in eating the splánchna),[104] σπλάγχνοισι συγγίγνεσθαι or παραγίγνεσθαι (come together with the splánchna),[105] σπλάγχνων μετουσία (communion of the splánchna).[106] To be barred from this communion was considered a terrible fate.[107]

Secondly, there is the tail of the victim with the sacrum attached to it, which is seen curving upward in the fire on the altar. As part of the standard portion of the gods, and the most readily recognizable part at that, this represents a motif the inclusion of which would need no further justification. There is, however, the additional point of interest (perhaps even the main point), that the curling up of the tail in the fire constituted a favourable sign.

Observing the signs and establishing that the sacrifice was favourably accepted, was of course of major importance in public sacrificial ceremonies. Certain officials were appointed to report to the boule that the sacrifice had been successful; the standard phrase for this was *tà hierà kalá*. We have several Hellenistic decrees in which Athenian officials are

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νία—οὐ περὶ ἄλλο τί ἐστιν ἢ περὶ Ἔρωτος φυλακήν τε καὶ ἴασιν. See also 197 c-d. Cf. Baudy, in: Gladigow & Kippenberg (eds.) 1983, 131-174; Gladigow, *FrühMitAltSt* 18 (1984) 19-43.

[104] Aristophanes, *Pax* 1115-1116:

ἄγε δή, θεαταί, δεῦρο συσπλαγχνεύετε
μετὰ νῷν.

[105] Eupolis, *Demoi* (412 B.C.) fr. 99 Kassel-Austin, 41-43:

τὸ χαλκίον
θέρμαινέ θ' ἡμῖν καὶ θύη πέττειν τινὰ
κέλευ', ἵνα σπλάγχνοισι συγγενώμεθα.

Aristophanes, *Equites* 410:

ἢ μήποτ' Ἀγοραίου Διὸς σπλάγχνοισι παραγενοίμην.

Cf. Aristophanes, *Vespae* 654:

κἂν χρῇ σπλάγχνων μ' ἀπέχεσθαι.

[106] Dionysios of Halikarnassos I 40, 4 (p. 103 Jacoby): Ποτιτίων μὲν ἡγουμένων τῆς ἱερουργίας καὶ τῶν ἐμπύρων ἀπαρχομένων, Πιναρίων δὲ σπλάγχνων τε μετουσίας εἰργομένων (- - -) ταύτην δὲ αὐτοῖς προστεθῆναι τὴν ἀτιμίαν ὀψίμου τῆς παρουσίας ἕνεκα, ἐπειδὴ ἔωθεν αὐτοῖς κελευσθὲν ἥκειν, ἐσπλαγχνευμένων ἤδη τῶν ἱερῶν ἀφίκοντο. The passage refers to a cult of Herakles ἔθεσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς.

[107] See the passages cited in the two previous notes. On the curse "May he not be able to sacrifice ...": Versnel, *ZPE* 58 (1985) 247-269. In the inscription on a Hellenistic grave stone from Atrax (Thessaly), the three things that the deceased is pictured as missing most are: the light of the sun, his beloved Lapithes, and the sacrifices, which he will no longer be able to enjoy; see Tziaphalias, *ADelt* 32 (1977) B' 1, 139, pl. 83 c, lines 7-14: προλιπὼν φάος | ἀελίου κῖμαι τῶν | γῆς παίδων ἀπέ|ναντι Λαπίθας | τε φίλους θυσί|ας τε καλὰς ὧν | νῦν οὐκ ἐστί με | πάσχιν.

honoured for the discharge of their religious duties with appropriate *philotimía*. Among these religious duties the act of reporting the *hierà kalá* is mentioned regularly.[108] Before the Hellenistic period, as Rhodes puts it, honours were not awarded, or at any rate their award was not published, on such slight pretexts.[109] To make a lot of fuss about making such a report is indeed considered a sign of *mikrophilotimía* by Theophrastos.[110] We have no reason to assume that *mikrophilótimoi* (men who glory in petty distinctions), or for that matter any of Theophrastos' other characters, were particularly rare in Classical Athens.

Of the variety of possible signs that could be observed during the burning of the god's portion on the altar, the vase painters always chose to depict that given by the tail, probably because anyone, like the farmer Trygaios and his slave in Aristophanes' *Peace,* could recognize it, and one did not need to be an expert to be able to interpret it. If the firewood had been skilfully arranged so that the fire burned properly, and the tail curled up in the heat, any Athenian could see that the sacrifice was well received. We may imagine them standing round the altar in their best himatia, and when the tail had given good signs, announcing to their friends: *tà hierà kalá.* And later on, when they had gone home, like Theophrastos' man of petty ambition they would tell their wives what a marvellous day it had

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[108] Extensive lists in Rhodes 1972, 132 note 6-17. One example, honours awarded to the priest of Asklepios, 165/4 B.C.: *SEG* 18 (1962) 22 (new text of *IG* II² 950), 5 ff.: ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ | τοῦ ἐν ἄστει Πρωταγόρας Νικήτου Περγασῆθεν πρό|σοδον ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπήγγελκεν | ἐν αἷς πεποίηται θυσίαις γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ | καὶ σωτήρια πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν τὰς πό|[λ]εις τὰς Ἀθηναίων (---) ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἄστει κτλ. On this Protagoras see Aleshire 1991, 175. A similar practice of reporting the *hierà kalá* occurred at the deme level, to judge from a fragmentary decree of the Ikarians of c. 330 B.C., *SEG* 22 (1967) 117, 1 ff.: [ἔδοξεν Ἰκαριεῦσιν· ἐπειδὴ ---αῖος Σωσι|γένους Ἰκαριεὺς τά τε ἱερὰ ἔθυσεν ἅπασιν τοῖς θεοῖς | [οἷς πάτριον ἦν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἐπεμε]λήθη καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν εἶναι καλά, κτλ. See Parker, in: Linders & Nordquist (eds.) 1987, 138. On *philotimía* in democratic Athens see Whitehead, *ClMediaev* 34 (1983) 55-74; also Dover 1974, 226-242.

[109] Rhodes 1972, 132. See, however, the decree of the Ikarians in the previous note.

[110] Cf. Theophrastos, *Characteres* 21 (μικροφιλοτιμία), 11: ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ διοικήσας παρὰ τῶν συμπρυτάνεων ὅπως ἀπαγγείλῃ τῷ δήμῳ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐστεφανωμένος παρελθὼν εἰπεῖν· "ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐθύομεν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰ Γαλάξια, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλά, καὶ ὑμεῖς δέχεσθε τὰ ἀγαθά"· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγείλας ἀπιὼν οἴκαδε διηγήσασθαι τῇ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ ὡς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εὐημερεῖ. For the Galaxia see Deubner 1932, 216; Parke 1977, 173-174.

been. The sort of occasion it would be nice to be reminded of by the pictures on one's pottery.

To sum up. The vase paintings testify to a fairly broad interest in the various aspects of sacrificial ritual. People who appreciated watching the enactment of prolonged stretches of ritual during the performance of a comic play, would be willing buyers of such products. Votive reliefs rather one-sidedly depict the sacrificial ritual as the bringing of a gift of a certain value to the god, as part of a continuous exchange of gifts and favours between the god and his worshipper.[111]

[111] Cf. Plato, *Euthyphro* 14 c-d: ΣΩ. οὐκοῦν τὸ θύειν δωρεῖσθαί ἐστι τοῖς θεοῖς, τὸ δ' εὔχεσθαι αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεούς; — ΕΥΘ. καὶ μάλα, ὦ Σώκρατες. — ΣΩ. ἐπιστήμη ἄρα αἰτήσεως καὶ δόσεως θεοῖς ὁσιότης ἂν εἴη ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόγου. And 14 e: ΣΩ. ἐμπορικὴ ἄρα τις ἂν εἴη, ὦ Εὐθύφρων, τέχνη ἡ ὁσιότης θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις παρ' ἀλλήλων. See also the contributions by Versnel and Van Straten, in: Versnel (ed.) 1981.

CATALOGUES

The two largest categories of sacrificial representations, vase paintings and votive reliefs, have been assembled in Catalogues I and II.
The descriptive notes and the references have been kept to (what is hoped to be an efficient) minimum.
The abbreviation "bov." is used for any bovine animal, since specific terms like bull, cow or ox would often imply more than can be seen.

In Catalogue I, the vase paintings are arranged in broad iconographical groups, and within these by region of manufacture. For the sake of comparison I have included representations that lack an animal, but have either a kanoûn or a líknon (these may refer to non-animal offerings).

In Catalogue II, the votive reliefs are arranged according to recipient deities and sanctuaries of provenance, in so far as these are known. Here I have included representations that lack an animal, but have the maid carrying the kíste, or a table loaded with sacrificial cakes etc., clearly referring to non-animal offerings.

CATALOGUE I: VASE PAINTINGS

Pre-kill

V1 Aigina

Att. bf. skyphos (fr.). Theseus Ptr or near - (c. 500 B.C.)
Komos. Two men carrying an amphora on a pole; auletés; part of man leading victim? (lost, sacrifice?).
Lit.: Felten, *Alt-Ägina* II 1 (1982) 47 nr. 259, pl. 19; Malagardis, *AntK* 28 (1985) 76-7.

V2 Amsterdam 8196

Att. bf. lekythos. *ABL* 209/96: Gela Ptr (500/480 B.C.)
Two columns; altar (flames); two bov. (bulls with stémmata, one on either side of altar).
Lit.: Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 121 ff., fig. 1, 2, 4, 10-14; Durand 1986, 93 fig. 18 c.

V3 Athens Agora P 1544

Att. bf. skyphos. *ABV* 518/47: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
Komos. Auletrís; woman playing kithara; youth carrying amphora on shoulder; goat (male) under one handle (sacrifice?).
Lit.: Haspels, *ABL* 251/47; Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 290 nr. 63, pl. 38-9; Burkert, *GrRomByzSt* 7 (1966) 99 nt. 25 nr. 13, pl. 3, 1-2; Malagardis, *AntK* 28 (1985) 77 nt. 47; Moore & Philippides 1986, 279 nr. 1486, pl. 100.

V4 Athens Agora P 1547

Att. bf. skyphos (fr.). *ABV* 518/49: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
Komos. Auletés; goat (male, sacrifice?).
Lit.: Haspels, *ABL* 251/49; Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 291 nr. 66, pl. 40; Burkert, *GrRomByzSt* 7 (1966) 99 nt. 25 nr. 14, pl. 4, 3; Moore & Philippides 1986, 280 nr. 1489, pl. 100.

V5 Athens Agora A-P 1566

Att. bf. kylix (fr.).
Man leading sheep (horn white), and part of a draped figure.
Lit.: Roebuck, *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 194 nr. 119, fig. 28; Lehnstaedt 1970, 133 K31.

V6 **Athens Agora A-P 2197** **Fig. 7**
Att. bf. skyphos (fr.).
Kanephóros (? only part of kanoûn preserved); men with sprigs; man leading pig and carrying knife case with three knives; two (?) auletaí.
Lit.: Roebuck, *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 182 nr. 80, fig. 22; Lehnstaedt 1970, 132 K18.

V7 **Athens Agora A-P 2475**
Att. bf. kylix (fr.).
Altar (flames); bearded head of goat; man.
Lit.: Roebuck, *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 195 nr. 120, fig. 28; Lehnstaedt 1970, 104 K33.

V8 **Athens Kanellopoulos 472**
Att. bf. lekythos.
Altar (flames) under handle; kanephóros (?); man leading bov.; men (sprigs).
Lit.: Brommer 1977, 155.

V9 **Athens NM 493** **Fig. 12**
Att. bf. lekythos. *ABV* 251/1: Elbows Out, manner of - (550/530 B.C.)
Two goddesses (?) holding wreaths seated on either side of altar (flames); from right kanephóros and three figures (sprigs); from left bov. (horn white; rope tied to neck) led by man (sprigs).
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 7, 1-3; *ABL* pl. 7, 1; Metzger 1965, 21 and 29 nr. 42, pl. 5, 2; Webster 1972, 136.

V10 **Athens NM 498**
Att. bf. skyphos. *ABL* 251/44: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
"Lenäenvase". A. Column-idol of Dionysos; satyr and maenad. B. Youth carrying amphora on shoulder, and men. Under one handle: goat (male; sacrifice?).
Lit.: *CVA* III Hg pl. 4; Frickenhaus 1912, nr. 2; Deubner 1932, 129 ff; Nilsson 1967, 572, 588; Frontisi-Ducroux 1991, 248 L 56.

V11 **Athens NM 12531** **Fig. 29**
Att. bf. skyphos. (510/500 B.C.)
A. Two herms on high stepped base, altar between them; kanephóros (male, stémmata hanging from kanoûn) climbs steps; man leading goat (male, stémmata attached to horns); man carrying two baskets

on pole over shoulder; auletés. B. Fountain house scene.
Lit.: Lehnstaedt 1970, 125 K29; Malagardis, *AntK* 28 (1985) 71-92.

V12 Athens NM 18568
Att. bf. lekythos. *Paralip* 216: Gela Ptr (500/480 B.C.)
Column; two men (sprigs) leading three sheep (rams).
Lit.: Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 144, fig. 50-51.

V13 Athens NM Akr 607 **Fig. 6**
Att. bf. dinos (fr.). *ABV* 107/1: Lydos (560/540 B.C.)
Zone II: bov. (cow) and pig (sow) and sheep led by men (sprigs; one carrying knife case).
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 607, pl. 33; Lehnstaedt 1970, 190 K3; Boardman 1974, fig. 64, 4; Tiverios 1976, 127 nr. 1, pl. 49; Schefold 1978, 56 fig. 60.

V14 Athens NM Akr 674
Att. bf. krater ? (fr.). (510/500 B.C.)
Man holding something on his shoulder (wineskin? amphora? skáphe?); men (sprigs); bov. (stémmata).
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 674, pl. 43; Pease, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 229 nr. 16, fig. 6: additional fragment; Lehnstaedt 1970, 196 K 44.

V15 Athens NM Akr 816 **Fig. 19**
Att. bf. amphora (fr.). (510/500 B.C.)
Bov. (stémmata, horn white) restrained by ropes tied to foreleg and hind leg, held by two boys (sprigs) on extreme left and right; man holding kanoûn; man carrying amphora; auletés; two kithara-players (boy and man). Inscriptions: [- -]νικα, Ἐσχεκστος (=Ἐξήκεστος?), [- -]εβιος, and some minor remains.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 816, pl. 49; Lehnstaedt 1970, 196 K43.

V16 Athens NM Akr 842 **Fig. 18**
Att. bf. Panathenaic amphora (fr.). *ABV* 369/119: Leagros Grp (510/500 B.C.)
Goat led by rope by man carrying Panathenaic amphora; men (sprigs).
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 842, pl. 52; Lehnstaedt 1970, 194 K30; Webster 1972, 129; Valavanis, *AA* 1991, 487-498, fig. 1.

V17 Athens NM Akr 1582
Att. bf. kylix (fr.).
Kanephóros; man leading sheep (ram, horn white); part of a second sheep.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 1582; Lehnstaedt 1970, 194 K32.

V18 Athens NM Akr 2290
Att. bf. lekythos (fr.). *ABL* 213/168: Gela Ptr (500/480 B.C.)
Bov. (stémmata, horns outlined in white); man.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 2290, pl. 96; Lehnstaedt 1970, 197 K57; Webster 1972, 142.

V19 Athens NM Akr 2298 **Fig. 3**
Att. bf. lekythos (fr.). *ABL* 216/8: Edinburgh Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
Athena standing; priest (sprigs); column (stémmata) with architrave; altar (huge flames); kanephóros; man (sprigs); man leading bov.; auletés.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 2298, pl. 96; Lehnstaedt 1970, 196 K49.

V20 Athens NM Per. 3725
Att. bf. skyphos (fr.). *ABV* 520/30 bis: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
Parts of draped figures and two goats (sacrifice?).
Lit.: *Perachora* II (1962) 344 nr. 3725, pl. 141.

V21 Berlin F 1686 **Fig. 4**
Att. bf. amphora. *ABV* 296/4: Ptr of Berlin 1686 (550/540 B.C.)
A. Athena standing; altar; priestess (sprigs); bov. led by man holding rope tied to its foreleg, and two other men. B. Two auletaí and two kithara-players.
Lit.: Rumpf 1928, 153-4; Webster 1972, 129; Boardman 1974, fig. 135; Parke 1977, fig. 67; *LIMC* II Athena 575; Neils 1992, 55 fig. 34.

V22 Berlin F 1690 **Fig. 11**
Att. bf. amphora. *ABV* 151/11: Amasis Ptr (c. 550 B.C.)
A. Kanephóros holding sprig (stémmata hanging from kanoûn); man carrying pig; two men wit sprigs; man carrying basket on pole over shoulder, wineskin, oinochoe and sprig. B. Komos.
Lit.: Pfuhl 1923, 221; Karouzou 1956, pl. 9; Webster 1972, 135; Von Bothmer 1985, 78 fig. 58

V23 Berlin F 1882
Att. bf. amphora. *ABL* 213/178: Gela Ptr (500/480 B.C.)
A. "Dipolieia". Altar (?) and four bov. (bulls, 1 either side, 1 on top, 1 in front). B. Maenad between two satyrs (all seated).
Lit.: Bakalakis, *AntK* 12 (1969) 57 nr. 1; Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 146 f., fig. 55-6; Durand 1986, 96 fig. 19.

V24 Bologna MC 130 (DL 109) **Fig. 9**
Att. bf. skyphos. *ABL* 253/15: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
Dionysos in ship-chariot, preceded by: kanephóros; youth carrying thymiaterion; some figures and bov. (bull).
Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 43, 1-4; Frickenhaus, *JdI* 27 (1912) 62 ff. Beil. I, III; Rumpf 1928, 152; Deubner 1932, 102, pl. 11, 1; Nilsson 1967, 572, 583, pl. 36, 1; Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 12 ff. fig. 11; Lehnstaedt 1970, 199 K70; Parke 1977, 109, fig. 42; Simon 1983, 93 f. fig. 12; Malagardis, *AEphem* 1988, 134 fig. 15 a

V25 Corinth T 814 (324-4)
Att. bf. lekythos. Beldam Ptr (c. 480 B.C.)
Kanephóros; man carrying thymiaterion; man leading bov. (stémmata, horns white).
Lit.: *Corinth* XIII, 236 nr. 324-4, pl. 95.

V26 Ferrara 184 (T 683 VT)
Att. bf. oinochoe. *Paralip* 288: Ptr of the half-palmettes (500/450 B.C.)
Altar and bov. in cave (?).
Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 26, 1; Bérard, *Mél. Collart* (1976) 62 fig. 1.

V27 Himera ?
Att. bf. pelike. (late)
A = B. Goddess (?) seated; altar (flames); column with entablature; bov.
Lit.: *Himera* II (1976) 801, pl. 123, 10.

V28 London BM B 79 **Fig. 10**
Att. bf. skyphos. *ABL* 250/30: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
Dionysos in ship-chariot, preceded by: man holding sprigs and man leading bov. (bull) by a rope tied to the horns; auletés; three men (sprigs).
Lit.: Frickenhaus, *JdI* 27 (1912) 61 ff. Beil. I, II; Deubner 1932,

102; Nilsson 1967, 583; Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 12 ff. fig. 13; Lehnstaedt 1970, 199 K69; Parke 1977, 109; Simon 1983, 93 f.

V29 London BM B 585

Att. bf. lekythos. *ABV* 496/175: Class of Athens 581 (500/475 B.C.)
Youth; bov. (bull, stémmata); woman; kithara-player.
Lit.: Lehnstaedt 1970, 132 K75, pl. 4, 2.

V30 London BM B 648

Att. bf. lekythos. *ABL* 267/14: Beldam Ptr (c. 480 B.C.)
Trumpeter; kanephóros; man carrying thymiaterion; man (sprigs) leading bov. (stémmata, horns white).
Lit.: Frickenhaus, *JdI* 27 (1912) 61 ff., Beil. I, IV; Lehnstaedt 1970, 131 K76, pl. 4, 3.

V31 London BM 1905.7-11.1 **Fig. 8**

Att. bf. Vraona oinochoe. *ABV* 443/3 and 475/29: Gela Ptr (500/480 B.C.)
Athena seated; three columns; altar (flames); kanephóros; man carrying oinochoe; man leading bov. (bull).
Lit.: Walters, *JHS* 31 (1911) 8 ff., fig. 7-8; Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 144 fig. 48-9.

V32 Munich 1441 (J 77)

Att. bf. amphora. *ABV* 243/44: Affecter (550/520 B.C.)
A. Dionysos and Ikarios. B. On the right under handle altar and priestess; man (sprigs, wreath); man (sprigs, oinochoe), sheep (ram); kanephóros (male, oinochoe); auletés; man (sprigs, wreath); man; bird flying to right.
Lit.: *CVA* 7, pl. 336, 4, 338, Beil. C6; Pfuhl 1923, 225; Mommsen 1975, 110 nr. 106, pl. 118-9.

V33 Munich 1824 (J 1335) **Fig. 55**

Att. bf. oinochoe. *ABV* 473/185: Gela Ptr (500/480 B.C.)
"Dipolieia". Altar (?); four bov. (bulls, 1 either side, 1 on top, 1 in front).
Lit.: Haspels, *ABL* 214/185; Bakalakis, *AntK* 12 (1969) 57 nr. 2, pl. 32; Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 146 f.; Simon 1983, pl. 6; Durand 1986, 96 fig. 20.

V34 Naples MN 2731
Att. bf. oinochoe. *ABV* 441/5 and 573/8: Ptr of the Half-palmettes (c. 480 B.C.)
Altar; bov.
Lit.: —

V35 New Orleans Tulane Un.
Att. bf. lekythos. Gela Ptr (500/480 B.C.)
Man (sprigs) leading bov. (bull); auletés; two men (sprigs).
Lit.: Shapiro (ed.) 1981, 106 nr. 41.

V36 Orvieto MC 1001
Att. bf. oinochoe. *ABV* 153/43: Amasis Ptr (560/515 B.C.)
Man; man (sprigs) leading goat by rope tied to its neck; kithara-player.
Lit.: Van Hoorn 1951, nr. 777; Karouzou 1956, 34 nr. 43; Lehnstaedt 1970, 191 K11; Webster 1972, 133; Von Bothmer 1985, 225 f. fig. 118.

V37 Oxford AM 514
Att. bf. lekythos. *ABL* 209/84: Gela Ptr (500/480 B.C.)
"Dipolieia". Altar (?); five bov. (bulls, 2 either side, 1 on top).
Lit.: Bakalakis, *AntK* 12 (1969) 57 nr. 4; Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 146 f., fig. 52-4; Durand 1986, 97 fig. 21.

V38 Paestum **Fig. 28**
Att. bf. pelike.
A. On the right three herms (one small) and on the left a fourth herm; sheep (ram) led by man holding kanoûn (sprigs). B. Auletrís and man.
Lit.: De la Genière, *REA* 62 (1960) 250; Lehnstaedt 1970, 195 K38, pl. 3, 3; Malagardis, *AntK* 28 (1985) 71-92, pl. 22, 4.

V39 Paris Louvre F 10
Att. bf. hydria. (c. 550 B.C.)
Shoulder: covered altar (flames); man and auletés; boy (sprigs); woman (two wreaths); youth (wreath) and youth leading bov. (bull) by rope tied to its horns; several figures.
Lit.: *CVA* 6, pl. 61, 3 and 62, 1-5; Drerup, *Fests. Matz* (1962) 36; Diehl 1964, 229 T218, pl. 36; Lehnstaedt 1970, 192 K15; Weber 1990.

V40 Paris Louvre F 473
Att. bf. lekythos. *ABV* 532/15: Class of Copenhagen 68 (500/475 B.C.)
Altar; bov.
Lit.: —

V41 Paris Louvre CA 1837
Att. bf. lekythos. *ABL* 252/60: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
Man or god seated in building (two columns with entablature); two youths leading bov. (bull) by rope tied to its horns; man holding two spears. Sacrifice?
Lit.: Webster 1972, 142-4.

V42 Rome VG 300
Att. bf. pelike. (c. 500 B.C.)
Man (sprigs) leading huge goat (male) by the horns.
Lit.: Pallottino & Proietti (eds.), 1980, 224 nr. 300; Malagaris, *AntK* 28 (1985) 71-92.

V43 Stuttgart KAS 74
Att. bf. skyphos. *Paralip* 258: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
A. Man carrying unidentified object on shoulder; man leading bov. (bull) by rope tied to its horns; auletés. B. Youth and man carrying an amphora on a pole; man catching pig (boar) by its hind leg.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 19, 1-2 and 20, 4; Malagardis, *AntK* 28 (1985) 71-92; Scheibler, *JdI* 102 (1987) 71 fig. 8.

V44 Tampa Noble Coll. 86.52
Att. bf. skyphos. *ABV* 704/27 ter: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
A. Two men carrying an amphora on a pole; man leading bov. (bull). B. Man carrying basket on shoulder (sprig); man leading pig (boar); youth carrying basket.
Lit.: Von Bothmer 1961, nr. 221, pl. 76; Malagardis, AntK 28 (1985) 76; Neils 1992, 181 nr. 53

V45 Taranto I.G. 4346
Att. bf. Siana kylix. *ABV* 54/70: C Ptr (570/565 B.C.)
I. Symposion. A. Man holding horn; altar (flames); bird flying to left; man leading bov. (bull); six men. B. Procession of nine men.
Lit.: Brijder 1983, nr. 23, pl. 12 a.

V46 Thessaloniki 5232
Att. bf. oinochoe. *Paralip* 216: Gela Ptr (500/480 B.C.)
"Dipolieia". Altar (?); five bov. (bulls, 1 on the left, 2 on the right, 1 on top, 1 in front).
Lit.: Bakalakis, *AntK* 12 (1969) 57 nr. 3, pl. 31; Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 146 f., fig. 55-6; Durand 1986, 98 fig. 22.

V47 Tübingen 1508 (D 23)
Att. bf. dinos (fr.).
Column with entablature; bov.; man, youth and other figure holding sprigs.
Lit.: Watzinger 1924, D 23, pl. 10; Lehnstaedt 1970, 196 K46.

V48 Tübingen 1581 (D 24)
Att. bf. dinos (fr.).
Pig and part of seven men.
Lit.: Watzinger 1924, D 24, pl. 10; Lehnstaedt 1970, 196 K 47.

V49 Tübingen 5738
Att. bf. lekythos. *ABL* 209/78: Gela Ptr (500/480 B.C.)
Altar (flames); from either side man leading bov. (bulls, stémmata).
Lit.: Lehnstaedt 1970, 197 K56, pl. 4, 1; Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 142 f., fig. 44-7; Durand 1986, 93 fig. 18 b.

V50 Uppsala 352 **Fig. 5**
Att. bf. hydria (kalpis). *ABV* 519/15: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
Column with entablature; altar surmounted by large owl (white bird in front of altar); from left youth leading sheep; from right bov. (stémmata).
Lit.: Melldahl & Flemberg, *Boreas Uppsala* 9 (1978) 57-79; *LIMC* II Athena 581.

V51 Art market
Att. bf. neck-amphora.
Two bov., led by two men.
Lit.: Deppert Verkaufsliste I (1958) nr. 4; Brommer 1977, 155.

V52 Art market **Fig. 24**
Att. bf. neck-amphora. (510/500 B.C.)
A. Herm; altar; man (sprigs) holding kanoûn; man (sprigs) leading goat. B. Three dancing women.

Lit.: Sotheby's 12-13 Dec. 1983, nr. 380; Malagardis, *AntK* 28 (1985) 85.

V53 Art market

Att. bf. hydria. *ABV* 393/20: Nikoxenos Ptr (500/480 B.C.)
Athena seated (snake); priestess (sprigs); altar (flames); column with entablature; bov.
Lit.: Gerhard 1840-58, pl. 241; Pfuhl 1923, 297; Webster 1972, 129; Parke 1977, fig. 63; *LIMC* II Athena 580.

V54 Private collection

Att. bf. lekythos.
Herm; altar (flames); man (sprigs) leading goat; auletés.
Lit.: De Ruyt & Hackens 1975, nr. 11; Malagardis, *AntK* 28 (1985) 80 and 85.

V55 Private collection **Fig. 2**

Att. bf. kylix (band cup). (560/550 B.C.)
Athena standing; priestess and priest on either side of altar (firewood, flames); kanephóros; men (sprigs) leading bov. (rope tied to horns) and pig and sheep; two auletaí and kithara-player; figures with sprigs; hoplites; horseman.
Lit.: MuM Basel, Aukt. 18 (1958) nr. 85; Lehnstaedt 1970, 190 K5; Pemberton, *AJA* 80 (1976) 113 ff., pl. 19, 7; Neumann 1979, 27, pl. 13 a-b; Simon 1983, 63, pl. 16, 2 and 17, 2; Simon 1985, 193; *LIMC* II Athena 574; Neils 1992, 54 fig. 33.

V56 Private collection

Att. bf. lekythos. *ABL* 247: Haimon Ptr, near - (c. 480 B.C.)
Three women and bov. (Haspels: sacrificial procession).
Lit.: *CVA* Gallatin pl. 8, 1 and 3; Webster 1972, 143.

V57 Private collection (?)

Att. bf. skyphos. *ABL* 250/31: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
A = B. Dionysos in country cart drawn by mules; under either handle goat (male, sacrifice?)
Lit.: *CVA* Robinson 1, pl. 22-23; Malagardis, *AEphem* 1988, 134 fig. 15 b

V58 Agrigento R 160

Att. rf. column-krater. *ARV*^{2} 275/62: Harrow Ptr (500/475 B.C.)

A. Youth driving bov. (calf). B. Man.
Lit.: Durand 1986, 161 nt. 30

V59 Athens
Att. rf. bell-krater (fr.).
Dithyrambic victory. Tripod decorated by Nike; bov. (bull); woman holding torch and oinochoe; man holding kantharos (Dionysos or priest?); satyr.
Lit.: Milchhöfer, *AZ* 1880, 182, pl. 16; Froning 1971, 19; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 239 fig. 20.

V60 Athens Agora P 10542
Att. rf. stamnos? (fr.). *ARV*^{2} 1190 ad 32: Dinos Ptr, somewhat recalls - (425/400 B.C.)
Lampadedromía. Herm and tree; altar; two youths with long torches; woman holding torch with hand-shield (personification of victorious phyle?); youth leading bov. (bull); running youths.
Lit.: Corbett, *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 346-351; Metzger 1951, 352 nr. 10; Philippaki 1964, pl. 61, 4; Metzger 1965, 112 nr. 24; Webster 1972, 131; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 232 fig. 8.

V61 Athens NM 1548
Att. rf. chous. (400/375 B.C.)
Lampadedromía. Bov. (bull) led by two youths (rope) and Nike.
Lit.: Van Hoorn 1951, 65 nr. 45, fig. 152; Metzger 1965, 113 nr. 31; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 230 fig. 4.

V62 Athens NM 1683
Att. (?) rf. pelike.
A. Nike flying towards tropaion set in heap of stones (or behind rustic altar?); from left youth (pilos chlamys endromides) leading bov. (stémmata); from right youth leading sheep (white ram) and holding kanoûn (tray) containing fruits; on the left seated youth holding two spears.
Lit.: Schefold, *UKV* nr. 339; Metzger 1965, 115 nr. 34, pl. 48, 1; Lehnstaedt 1970, 211 K163; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 235 fig. 13.

V63 Athens NM 1695
Att. rf. lekythos. *ARV*^{2} 1204/2: Grp of Palermo 16, conn. w. - (450/425 B.C.)

Three torches set in ground; woman holding kanoûn and small animal: prob. dog (Deubner: pig).
Lit.: Stengel 1920, 126; Rumpf 1928, 110; Deubner 1932, 44, pl. 2; Rumpf, *BJb* 161 (1961) 208; Karouzou, *JHS* 92 (1972) 70; Van Straten, *BABesch* 49 (1974) 182, fig. 30; *History of the Hellenic World* III 2, 262.

V64 Athens NM 12119
Att. rf. lekythos.
Priapos-herm set on mound; man (pilos chlamys) holding sprig in right hand and carrying hare on pole over shoulder.
Lit.: Rhomaios, *AEphem* 1908, 151, pl. 8; Metzger 1965, 78 nr. 2.

V65 Athens NM 16260
Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 1123/3: Ptr of Athens 1183 (425/400 B.C.)
A. Dithyrambic victory. Tripod; Nike holding stémmata to adorn bov. (bull), which is restrained by another Nike; satyr. B. Youth with spears (Theseus?) pursuing a woman.
Lit.: Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 239 fig. 19.

V66 Athens NM Akr 222
Att. rf. kylix (fr.).
I. Auletés and sheep (ram).
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 222; Lehnstaedt 1970, 200 K83.

V67 Athens NM Akr 636 **Fig. 20**
Att. rf. loutrophoros (fr. neck). *ARV*² 25/1: Phintias? (525/500 B.C.)
Man holding oinochoe; youth (sprigs) driving pig (pregnant sow) with stick; auletés; man and two women (sprigs). Inscriptions: [--]οχσενίδε[ς], Μίτρον, Ὀλυπιό[δορος] κα[λός], Λύ[κος], ho παῖς καλός.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 636, pl. 50-1; Lehnstaedt 1970, 200 K82.

V68 Athens NM Akr 725
Att. rf. oinochoe (fr.).
Five men (two with sprigs), one of whom leads bov. by rope.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 725, pl. 54; Lehnstaedt 1970, 201 K89.

V69 Athens NM Akr 739 **Fig. 21**
Att. rf. calyx-krater.

*ARV*² 1092/76: Ptr of the Louvre Centauromachy (450/440 B.C.)
Zone I: Potters' workshop. Zone II: Youth leading sheep (ram) and parts of two other figures.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz II nr. 739, pl. 62; Beazley 1946, 14-5, pl. 5, 2-3; Lehnstaedt 1970, 204 K111; Webster 1972, 128; Ziomecki 1975, 147 nr. 3, fig. 17.

V70 **Berlin F 3011** **Fig. 23**
Att. (?) rf. calyx-krater.
Herm; altar (flames); sheep (ram) nibbling twig on altar.
Lit.: Licht 1925, 132.

V71 **Berlin inv. 1966.62**
Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 1659/91 bis; *Paralip* 386; *Beazley Add*² 258: Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
A. Herm; boy catching pig by one hind-leg. B. Two herms.
Lit.: Durand 1986, 135 fig. 58.

V72 **Bologna MC 286**
Att. rf. calyx-krater. *ARV*² 1158: Dinos Ptr, manner of - (425/400 B.C.)
A. Dithyrambic victory. Tripod; satyr; Nike leading bov. (bull, stémmata) by rope tied to horns; Nike holding fillet and phiale; Dionysos (seated); maenad. Inscriptions: Σῖμος, Νίκε, Νίκε, Διόνυσος, Βάχχε. B. Boy singing and youth playing flute, with two Nikai.
Lit.: Pfuhl 1923, 562; Froning 1971, 19; Webster 1972, 133; *LIMC* III Bakche 1; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 229 fig. 2

V73 **Bologna MC 328**
Att. rf. bell-krater. (400/375 B.C.)
Lampadedromía. Column; altar; bov. (bull, rope) led by victorious torch-racers.
Lit.: Schoppa, *AA* 1935, 39-40, fig. 3; Corbett, *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 346-351; Metzger 1951, 354 nr. 25, pl. 46, 2; Metzger 1965, 112 nr. 28; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 230 fig. 5

V74 **Boston MFA 13.195** **Fig. 17**
Att. rf. lekythos. *ARV*² 35/1: Gales Ptr (520/500 B.C.)
Column with fillet tied round it; kanephóros; youth (sprigs) leading two bov. (cows, stémmata) by ropes tied to their horns; youth (sprigs).

Lit.: Chase & Vermeule 1963, nr. 82; Sparkes, *JHS* 95 (1975) 131, pl. 15 a; Kurtz 1975, pl. 6, 1.

V75 Brauron
Att. rf. fr. (450/400 B.C.)
Altar; pig; hands of two figures, one leading the pig.
Lit.: —

V76 Cambridge, Mass. Fogg Art Mus. 1959.129
Att. rf. oinochoe. (c. 420 B.C.)
Youth; youth leading bov. (bull, stémmata) by rope tied to its horns.
Lit.: *CVA* Robinson 3, pl. 9; Robinson, *AJA* 38 (1934) 45 ff; Neils 1992, 181 nr. 52.

V77 Ferrara 8149
Att. rf. bell-krater. (400/380 B.C.)
A. Herm; Pan with kanoûn and bowl (chérnips?); woman carrying cock; youth with phiale; horns hanging above. B. Three youths.
Lit.: *LIMC* V Hermes 131 bis.

V78 Ferrara T 57 c VP **Fig. 13**
Att. rf. volute-krater. *ARV*² 1143/1: Kleophon Ptr (440/420 B.C.)
Zone I, A. Apollo seated in temple (columns and architrave); omphalos; two tripods; priest; procession: kanephóros; youth; thymiaterion; youth; youth carrying phiale; youth; two youths leading two bov. (bulls, stémmata?) by ropes tied to their horns. B. Return of Hephaistos. Zone II. Satyrs and maenads.
Lit.: Alfieri & Arias 1958, 56, pl. 82-7; Metzger 1965, 93; Lehnstaedt 1970, 207 K136; Sparkes, *JHS* 95 (1975) 131, pl. 15 b; Parke 1977, fig. 11; Simon 1983, 79, pl. 23, 1; *LIMC* II Apollon 303.

V79 Ferrara T 416 b VP
Att. rf. calyx-krater. *ARV*² 1144/21: Kleophon Ptr (440/420 B.C.)
A. Altar; youth holding rope tied to head of bov. (bull, stémmata); youth. B. Two youths.
Lit.: Hemelrijk, *BABesch* 45 (1970) 64 f., fig. 27-8.

V80 Ferrara T 876 b VP
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1276/9 bis: Marlay Ptr (450/425 B.C.)
A. Herm; youth leading bov. (bull) towards altar; pinax and horns

hanging above. B. Three youths.
Lit.: (= *LIMC* V Hermes 102 bis "T 870 B VP"?)

V81 **Ferrara T 559 VT**
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 919/1: Aberdeen Ptr (c. 450 B.C)
I. Youth holding bow and arrow (Apollo or hunter?) with fawn at altar; palm tree. A and B. Athletes.
Lit.: Alfieri & Arias 1958, 49, pl. 62; *LIMC* II Apollon 325

V82 **Ferrara T 734 VT**
Att. rf. oinochoe. *ARV*² 1349/1: Bull Ptr (c. 410 B.C.)
Two youths leading bov. (bull).
Lit.: Lezzi-Hafter 1976, 115 F 2, pl. 174.

V83 **Florence**
Att. rf. fr.
Figure holding sucking-pig by hind leg.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 13, 235.

V84 **Florence V 45**
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 146/3 bis: Epeleios Ptr (515/500 B.C.)
A. Bov. (bull) led to sacrifice. B. Satyrs and maenads, youth and woman.
Lit.: —

V85 **Leipsic 2655**
Att. rf. hydria.
Youth leading bov. (stémmata) by rope tied to its horns.
Lit.: Bielefeld, *WürzbJbAltWiss* 2 (1947) 173-5, pl. 2; Durand 1986, 161 fig. 71.

V86 **Leipsic T 958**
Att. rf. bell-krater. (400/375 B.C.)
Lampadedromía. Bov. (bull, rope) led by youths (spiked headdresses, torch) and woman (personification of victorious phyle?); skull.
Lit.: Corbett, *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 346-351; Metzger 1951, 354 nr. 23, pl. 46, 1; Metzger 1965, 112 nr. 27; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 232 fig. 7.

V87 **London BM E 284** **Fig. 45**
Att. rf. amphora. *ARV*² 1107/7: Nausicaa Ptr (450/425 B.C.)

A. Dithyrambic victory. Two tripods; two bov.; two women draping stémmata over victims' horns. B. King, woman, man and woman.
Lit.: *CVA* pl. 17, 3; Pfuhl 1923, 519; Froning 1971, 17-18; Webster 1972, 133; Kron 1976, 239-241, pl. 32

V88 Malibu JPGM 83.AE.323
Att. rf. kylix (fr.). Kleomelos Ptr (510/500 B.C.)
I. Old man dragging goat by the horns (to sacrifice?).
Lit.: *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984) 246 nr. 72.

V89 Mannheim 123
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1435: Ptr of Athens 12255 (partly?) (400/375 B.C.)
A. Lampadedromía. Column surmounted by disk (?); Eros leading bov. (bull, rope), preceded by woman holding torch with hand-shield (personification of victorious phyle?). B. Three youths.
Lit.: *CVA* pl. 29, 4 and 30, 1-2, 4-5; Schoppa, *AA* 1935, 35-6 fig. 1; Corbett, *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 346-351; Metzger 1951, 354 nr. 24, pl. 46, 3; Greifenhagen, *Mannheimer Hefte* 2 (1957) 34 fig. 9; Metzger 1965, 112 nr. 26; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 234 fig. 10.

V90 Munich 2412 (J 386) **Fig. 46**
Att. rf. stamnos. *ARV*² 1036/5: Hector Ptr (450/425 B.C.)
A. Dithyrambic victory. Tripod; Nike pouring water from a hydria into a louter; bov. (bull, stémmata) bending down head to drink; woman with fillet (personification of victorious phyle?). B. King and women.
Lit.: *CVA* pl. 247; FR pl. 19; Froning 1971, 17; Webster 1972, 133; Durand 1979, 175, fig. 14; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 228 fig. 1.

V91 New York MMA 56.171.49 **Fig. 54**
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1347/3: Kekrops Ptr (425/400 B.C.)
Lampadedromía. A. Part of gabled building; bov. (bull, rope) led by youths (spiked headdresses and torches); woman (personification of victorious phyle?). B. Torch race.
Lit.: Corbett, *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 346-351; Metzger 1951, 352 nr. 9; Von Bothmer, *BMetrMus* 15 (1956-57) 179; Metzger 1965, 112 nr. 25, pl. 42, 4; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 231 fig. 6

V92 Paris Louvre G 221
Att. rf. amphora. *ARV*² 227/8: Eucharides Ptr (500/475 B.C.)
A. Man (staff) holding sucking-pig by hind leg. B. Man.
Lit.: *CVA* III I c, pl. 41, 10-11; Webster 1972, 143; Durand 1986, 136 fig. 61.

V93 Paris Louvre G 472
Att. rf. pelike (fr.). *ARV*² 555/90: Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
A. Old man catching a pig by the hind legs; beside him a phallos-stick (sacrifice?). B. Boy chasing fawn.
Lit.: Pottier pl. 150; Beazley 1931, 13, pl. 23, 4.

V94 Philadelphia 2448
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 337/24: Antiphon Ptr (490/475 B.C.)
I. Boy with kanoûn (sprigs), holding sucking-pig by hind leg.
Lit.: Durand 1986, 135 fig. 59.

V95 Rome VG 50323
Att. rf. lekythos. *ARV*² 658/31: Ptr of the Yale Lekythos (475/450 B.C.)
Woman with kanoûn and sucking-pig at altar.
Lit.: *BdA* 7, 320 fig. 22.

V96 Saint Petersburg St 2070
Att. rf. oinochoe. (4th century B.C.)
Lampadedromía. Nike leading bov. (bull), preceded by woman with lyre, and followed by torch racer.
Lit.: *Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien* (1854, rééditées par S. Reinach, 1892) pl. 61, 7-8; Schefold, *UKV* nr. 305; Metzger 1951, 355 nr. 28.

V97 Syracuse 22886
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1073/3: Eupolis Ptr (450/425 B.C.)
Woman holding two torches (priestess?); bov. (bull).
Lit.: *CVA* pl. 17, 1; Webster 1972, 136.

V98 Vienna IV 1050 (706)
Att. rf. bell-krater. (400/375 B.C.)
Lampadedromía. Tripod; altar; bov. (bull, rope) lead by Nike and youths (spiked headdresses, torches); skull on ground.
Lit.: Schoppa, *AA* 1935, 33 ff. fig. 4; Corbett, *Hesperia* 18 (1949)

346-351; Metzger 1951, 354 nr. 26, pl. 46, 5; Metzger 1965, 112 nr. 28; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 233 fig. 9.

V99 Art market
Att. rf. column-krater. *ARV*^{2} 517/4: Ptr of Bologna 235 (460/450 B.C.)
A. Man and two youths holding forked branches; bov. (bull). B. Komos.
Lit.: MuM Basel, Aukt. 60 (1982) nr. 33, pl. 13.

V100 Art market
Att. rf. column-krater.
A. Youth running, with kanoûn, holding sucking-pig by hind leg.
Lit.: Durand 1986, 136 fig. 60.

V101 Taranto 20308
Att. wgr. lekythos. *ARV*^{2} 686/205: Bowdoin Ptr (480/470 B.C.)
Woman (priestess) running, with oinochoe and kanoûn; bov. (small bull-calf).
Lit.: —

V102 Munich 1826 (J 686)
Att. (?) wgr. bf. chous. (Late 5th century B.C.)
Youth holding kanoûn and oinochoe; fawn.
Lit.: Van Hoorn 1951, nr. 689, fig. 21.

V103 Saint Petersburg St 525 (1659) **Fig. 22**
Att. or Camp. black glazed hydria. (c. 325 B.C.)
Polychrome relief decoration on shoulder: goddess (staff) seated on kíste; youthful god (boots, torch); Triptolemos; Dionysos; Demeter seated (staff) and Persephone (torch), between them two bákchoi and plemochoe or kernos; mystes carrying piglet by one hind leg and holding bákchos or bákchoi; Athena seated; youthful god (boots, 2 torches); goddess (staff) seated on kíste. Zervoudaki: Unteritalisch, wahrsch. kampanisch, att. Arbeiten sehr nahe.
Lit.: Zervoudaki, *AM* 83 (1968) 36/77; *CR* 1862, 5 ff., pl. 3; Gabrici, *MonAnt* 22 (1914) pl. 101; Nilsson 1967, 805, pl. 47; Nilsson, *OpSel* II 52 nr. 4; Metzger 1951, 251, 257; Metzger 1965, 40 nr. 36, pl. 20-22; Mylonas, *AEphem* 1960, 95 fig. 8; Simon, *AntK* 9 (1966) 84 f. fig. 4; *Recueil Dugas* 138/97; Gorbunova & Saverkina 1975, fig. 74-5; Peschlow-Bindokat, *JdI* 87 (1972) 149 V

135; Schwarz 1987, 57 V 149; *LIMC* Dionysos 526; *LIMC* IV Demeter 405; Herakles 1404; Hayashi 1992, 169/151.

V104 Eleusis

Att. polychrome relief pyxis or miniature kíste? (frr.). (375/350)
(a) Man with stick (or bákchos?); mystes with bákchos (or stick?) carrying piglet (? porc ou chien: Metzger; Hund?, kein Ferkel: Zervoudaki) by one hind leg. (b) Demeter seated on kíste; thymiaterion.
Lit.: Rubensohn, *AM* 24 (1899) 55 pl. 8; Zervoudaki, *AM* 83 (1968) 45/111, pl. 23, 2-4; Pringsheim 1905, 54/4; Courby 142/19°; Metzger 1965, 34/4; Bielefeld, *WissZGreifswald* 1 (1951/2) 8/22; Bianchi 1976, fig. 32.

V105 Berlin F 1727

Boiot. bf. tripod pyxis. *ABV* 29/1: Boiot. imit. of KX Ptr (575/550 B.C.)
Bowl: A. Altar (flames); pig; man carrying kanoûn containing twisted tainia (?); auletés; two men (sprigs). B. Auletés and dancers. C. Symposion. Leg-panels, top: Perseus and the Gorgons; bottom: games.
Lit.: *CVA* 4, pl. 195-197; Loeschke, *AZ* 1881, 31 pl. 3-4; Sparkes, *JHS* 87 (1967) 120, pl. 14; Gehrig *et al.* 1968, 51, pl. 39 a; Kilinski 1990, 15 nr. 1, pl. 7; Scheffer, in: Hägg (ed.) 1992, 117-141, fig. 1-6.

V106 Laon 37.995

Boiot. bf. skyphos.
Procession of men leading a bull to sacrifice.
Lit.: Maffre, *BCH* 99 (1975) 433 nr. 16; Kilinski 1990, pl. 22, 4; Scheffer, in: Hägg (ed.) 1992, 118-119, 138 B4.

V107 London BM B 80 **Fig. 14**

Boiot. bf. plate (lekanis). (c. 550 B.C.)
Athena standing; column; snake; altar (bird, flames); procession: kanephóros; two men leading bov. (bull) by ropes tied to its legs; auletés; four men (wreaths, oinochoe, knives?); four figures in country cart drawn by two mules; men and goat.
Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 7, 4 a-b; Smith, *JHS* 1 (1880) 202, pl. 7; Pfuhl 1923, 170; Rumpf 1928, 150; Ure, *JHS* 49 (1929) 168 ff.; Sparkes,

JHS 87 (1967) 121, pl. 17 a; *LIMC* II Athena 586; Scheffer, in: Hägg (ed.) 1992, 117-141, fig. 7-8.

V108 New Haven Yale Un.
Boiot. bf. skyphos.
Building with two columns; altar (flames); man leading animal; kanephóros; figures (sprigs).
Lit.: Baur 1922, nr. 185, pl. 5.

V109 Athens NM
Boiot. Cabiran bf. fr. (450/400 B.C.)
Parts of hind quarter and foreleg of bov. (bull).
Lit.: Wolters & Bruns 1940, 101 K27, pl. 44, 10.

V110 Athens NM 426 **Fig. 25**
Boiot. Cabiran bf. skyphos. (450/400 B.C.)
Herm; pig (sow); dwarf carrying kanoûn (tray, sprigs); woman and man.
Lit.: Wolters & Bruns 1940, 101 K25, pl. 33, 2 and 51, 4.

V111 Bryn Mawr, Penn. P 217
Boiot. Cabiran bf. skyphos (fr.). (450/400 B.C.)
(a) Altar; on the right wreath and twig (and head of animal skin??).
(b) Man holding kanoûn and knife; boy holding oinochoe and skyphos (or kylix?); parts of other figures.
Lit.: Swindler, *AJA* 20 (1916) 317-8; Wolters & Bruns 1940, 102 K29, pl. 52, 2; Durand 1986, 109 fig. 27.

V112 Cassel **Fig. 26**
Boiot. Cabiran bf. skyphos. (450/400 B.C.)
Herm; man leading bov. (bull); woman and man.
Lit.: Wolters & Bruns 1940, 101 K26, fig. 4, pl. 51, 5-6; *LIMC* V Hermes 102.

V113 Aigina K 340
Cor. oinochoe (fr.). *CVP* 35/A7, pl. 12: Sacrifice Ptr (c. 650 B.C.)
Man (long robe) leading bov. (bull).
Lit.: Kraiker 1951, 59 nr. 340, pl. 27.

V114 Athens NM Per. 1578
Cor. round aryballos. *CVP* II 658 (600/575 B.C.)

Man driving bov.; auletrís; three women with lyres; four women.
Lit.: *Perachora* II 150 nr. 1578, pl. 61.

V115 Athens NM Per. 2066
Cor. oinochoe (fr.). *CVP* II 658 (600/575 B.C.)
Man leading bov. (?) by a rope; kanephóros; procession of women.
Fragm. with a woman leading a goat by a rope may belong.
Lit.: *Perachora* II 212 nr. 2066, pl. 77.

V116 Munich 7741
Cor. pyxis. *CVP* I 229/AP2: Skating Ptr, possibly by - (600/575 B.C.)
Frauenfest. kanephóros; woman carrying small goat (? Jucker); auletrís; etc.
Lit.: *CVA* 3, pl. 144, 5-6, 145, 1-2, fig. 8-9; Jucker, *AntK* 6 (1963) 47-61; Callipolitis-Feytmans, *BCH* 94 (1970) 45-65, fig. 2.

V117 Oslo 6909 No. 5 **Fig. 16**
Cor. amphoriskos. *CVP* II 658 (600/575 B.C.)
Three kanephóroi (kanoûn containing conical oinochoai and olaí?); bov. (bull, stémmata); man; auletrís; two women.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 4, 1-3; Eitrem, *AEphem* 1953-54, I, 25 ff.; Johansen, *OpRom* 4 (1962) 75.

V118 Paris CM 94
Cor. pyxis. *CVP* I 229/A1: Skating Ptr (600/575 B.C.)
Frauenfest. kanephóros; small figure leading goat by a rope; auletrís; etc.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl.17; Jucker, *AntK* 6 (1963) 47-61, pl. 23, 1; Callipolitis-Feytmans, *BCH* 94 (1970) 45-65, fig. 3.

V119 Würzburg 118
Cor. exaleiptron. *CVP* 470 (625/600 B.C.)
Komos; goat tied to krater.
Lit.: Payne, *NC* 298 nr. 724, 1119 fig. 44 b; Jucker, *AntK* 6 (1963) 60; Seeberg 1971, 41 nr. 215.

V120 Copenhagen NM 13567 **Fig. 114**
Caeretan bf. hydria. (520/510 B.C.)
A. Altar (flames); column surmounted by disk (or dinos); bov. (head bent down); man swinging double axe with both hands; man carrying

knife and lebes (or sphageîon); kanephóros (kanoûn contains white substance: olaí?); auletrís.
Lit.: Johansen, *OpRom* 4 (1962) 61-81; Durand 1979, 177; Hemelrijk 1984, 29-30 nr. 15, fig. 20, pl. 67-68; Durand 1986, 106 fig. 25.

V121 Amsterdam
Apul. rf. fr. (c. 350 B.C.)
Woman leading sheep (ram) by horn.
Lit.: *CVA* Scheurleer 2, pl. 3, 5.

V122 Geneva Hellas et Roma HR 66
Apul. rf. skyphos (fr.). Underworld Ptr, near - (340/330 B.C.)
Woman holding torch and kanoûn; pig with collar or fillet round neck. In upper zone: female statuette and part of a second; woman seated.
Lit.: Aellen *et al.* 1986, 188-9.

V123 Ruvo Coll. Jatta 1097
Apul. rf. volute-krater. *RVAp* I p. 417, 16/16: Lycurgus Ptr (c. 350 B.C.)
A. Apollo (or Ion holding laurel branch?); altar (blood, small fire); man behind altar; from right youth and man leading bull by horns and ropes tied to its legs; from the left woman; girl; woman carrying kanoûn (tray) on head and holding oinochoe. In upper zone: temple with statue of Apollo and various figures. (Possibly mythical: Ion, Xouthos and Kreousa sacrificing at Delphi: see Schmidt). B. Garden of the Hesperides. Neck: A. Herakles and bull. B. Dionysos c.s.
Lit.: Sichtermann 1966, 50 nr. 72, pl. 119-122; Schmidt, *Stud. Trendall* 1979, 163 ff.; Schefold & Jung 1988, 78 fig. 87; *LIMC* II Apollon 326; *LIMC* V Ion 2.

V124 Port Sunlight 5008 **Fig. 27**
Camp. rf. bell-krater. *LCS* Sup. 3, 131/286 b: Cassandra-Parrish Workshop (350/325 B.C.)
(Attic? McPhee apud Robertson) A. Herm; boy leading goat; man; youth holding kanoûn and phiale; youth (right hand raised in prayer); skull (stémmata). B. Three youths.
Lit.: Robertson 1987, 44 nr. 50, pl. 56-7.

V125 Whereabouts unknown
Camp. rf. oinochoe. *LCS* 254/188: Archer Group (350/330 B.C.)
Youth carrying pig (boar) on shoulder; youth with mallet, knife and spits (?); youth with tray and firewood (?) (sacrifice?)
Lit.: Gerhard 1828, pl. 70; *DA* IV 2965, fig. 5994.

V126 Manchester IV E 31
Lucan. rf. epichysis. : Ptr of Naples 1959, circle of - (340/310 B.C.)
Altar; woman; youth leading bov.
Lit.: Schauenburg, in: Moon (ed.) 1983, 269 fig. 17.23 b.

Pre-kill: preparations at the altar

V127 Agrigento 4688 **Fig. 30**
Att. rf. bell-krater. (Kleophon Ptr?) (440/420 B.C.)
A. Apollo seated in temple (columns with architrave); tripod on column; tree; altar; man dipping hands into chérnips held by youth, who also holds kanoûn (flat tray); youth leading goat (male); auletés. B. Satyrs and maenad.
Lit.: De Miro, *ArchCl* 20 (1968) 238-48, pl. 85, 87-89; Froning 1971, 97, 109, 114, pl. 16; *Veder Greco: Le necropoli di Agrigento* (1988) 226 nr. 75.

V128 Athens NM 12491 **Fig. 36**
Att. rf. calyx-krater. (4th century B.C.)
A. Altar (firewood) in front of column surmounted by pinax or shrine; on the right man placing something on the altar with both hands; youth leading pig (stémmata surrounding its belly: "dorsuale"); on the left man holding sprig and taking something from kanoûn (sprigs) held by youth; two horned skulls; three more figures above in the background.
Lit.: Metzger 1965, 116 nr. 35, pl. 48, 2.

V129 Athens NM Akr 634
Att. rf. fr. (c. 400 B.C.)
Bov., head bent down, being adorned (stémmata?) by youth.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz II nr. 634, pl. 49.

V130 Boston MFA 95.24 **Fig. 33**
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*^{2} 1159: Chrysis Ptr, near - (450/425 B.C.)
A. Low rubble altar (firewood) in front of laurel tree; man extending hand towards chérnips held by youth, who also holds kanoûn; on the

left youth leading sheep (ram); On the right seated youth; above in the background Hermes and youth. B. Youths and boy.
Lit.: Caskey & Beazley III 78 ff. nr. 168, Suppl. pl. 26; De Miro, *ArchCl* 20 (1968) 244, pl. 86, 2; Sparkes, *JHS* 95 (1975) 132, pl. 15 c; Boardman 1989, 99 fig. 183.

V131 Boston MFA 95.25 **Fig. 32**
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1149/9: Kleophon Ptr, manner of - (430/410 B.C.)
A. Altar; man dipping hands in chérnips held by youth, who also holds kanoûn (flat tray, sprigs); on the left youth leading sheep (ram); auletés; on the right man (staff); horned skull (stémmata) above the altar. Names inscribed over the figures: Καλλίας, Μαντί-θεος, [- -]ς, Ἱππ[ο]κλ[ῆς], Ἀρεσίας. B. Satyr and maenads.
Lit.: Caskey & Beazley III (1963) nr. 167, pl. 101, Suppl. pl. 25, 1; Beazley, *AJA* 33 (1929) 366-7: inscriptions; Johansen 1959, 5, pl. 7-8; Metzger 1965, 109 nr. 10; Webster 1972, 50, pl. 3.

V132 Istanbul
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 603/41: Niobid Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
A. Apollo seated; altar (blood) in front of column; man taking something from a plate held by a youth, who also holds kanoûn (sprigs); sheep; man (staff). B. Youth pursuing a woman.
Lit.: *Harvard Exc. Samaria* II, pl. 70, 69 o; Deubner, *JdI* 40 (1925) 222, fig. 24; G.E. Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* (1957) 205.

V133 Laon 37.1044 **Fig. 44**
Att. rf. oinochoe. (c. 430 B.C.)
Woman (stephane) hanging stémma over horns of bov. (bull).
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 39, 5.

V134 Oxford AM 1954.261 **Fig. 31**
Att. rf. bell-krater (fr.).
Altar; two hands being dipped into chérnips held by hand of other figure.
Lit.: Beazley, *JHS* 59 (1939) 23 nr. 56.

V135 Paris Louvre C 10.754 **Fig. 47**
Att. rf. stamnos (fr.). *ARV*² 228/32: Eucharides Ptr (500/475 B.C.)
A. Satyrs using mallets. B. Youth holding horn and patting forehead of bov. (bull); large basin on the ground under head of bull; man

(staff); auletés (not playing). Above each handle bird flying to left; under handles, amphora, goat (facing B.)
Lit.: Beazley, in: *Scritti Libertini* (1958) 91-5; Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 184, fig. 39; Froning 1971, 26 f; Webster 1972, 94; Bérard 1974, 83, fig. 36; Bérard, *Mél. Collart* 1976, 66, fig. 7.

V136 The Hague Gemeentemus. OC (ant) 5-71 **Fig. 34**
Att. rf. bell-krater. (450/425 B.C.)
A. Altar; youth dipping hands in chérnips held by youth, who also holds kanoûn; on the left youth leading sheep (ram); horned skull above altar. B. Three youths.
Lit.: De Haan-van de Wiel 1973, nr. 20.

V137 Vatican **Fig. 35**
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*^{2} 1674 (475/450 B.C.)
I. Table with sprig on it; youth holding kanoûn and chérnips (?). A. Two columns with entablature; youth, with kanoûn, leading bov. (bull); man (staff). B. Two columns with entablature; youth, with kanoûn, leading sheep (ram); man (staff).
Lit.: *Mus. Etr. Greg.* (1842) II pl. 71, 1; Deubner, *JdI* 40 (1925) 214, fig. 9-10; Helbig I ^{4}(1963) 690 nr. 959.

V138 Paris Louvre K 5
Camp. rf. bell-krater. *LCS* 260/228, pl. 103, 4: Louvre Sacrifice Ptr (c. 330 B.C.)
A. Altar; man; youth holding kanoûn and chérnips; seated man with sceptre (or trident? Trendall: Poseidon). In upper zone: temple; Apollo; youth with two spears. B. Youth between two women.
Lit.: —

V139 Rome VG
Etr. rf. on black oinochoe. (400/350 B.C.)
Altar (flames); trapeza or diphros, on which kanoûn (tray); on the left youth with knife, holding fawn by a rope; on the right youth with phiale and fillet.
Lit.: Helbig III ^{4}(1969) 498 nr. 2523.

V140 Private collection?
South Italian krater. (4th century B.C.)
Youth holding kanoûn (tray), dragging pig (boar) by hind leg to-

wards altar; woman with box containing alabastra; thymiaterion.
Lit.: Reinach 1891, Millingen nr. 58.

The Killing
(also V120: Copenhagen NM 13567)

V141 Viterbo **Fig. 115**
Att. bf. amphora. (c. 550 B.C.)
A. Seven men lifting bov. on their shoulders; man in short chiton slitting its throat with a knife; man holding sphageîon under its throat while lifting its head with his other hand; on the extreme right man holding rope tied to victim's head; on the left man holding tail. B. Dionysos and maenad between two satyrs.
Lit.: Durand & Schnapp, in *Cité* (1984) 55, fig. 83; Barbieri & Durand, *BdA* 70 nr. 29 (1985) 1-16; Boardman, in: Rasmussen & Spivey (eds.) 1991, 99 fig. 40.

V142 Athens Ker. 5662
Att. rf. krater (fr.). (425/400 B.C.)
Woman (maenad: nebris) holding knife in right hand and restraining white goat with left.
Lit.: Knigge, *AM* 97 (1982) 153, pl. 32, 1.

V143 Boston MFA 03.796
Att. rf. calyx-krater. (425/400 B.C.)
A. Hermes; youth bestriding a goat and taking it by the horns; two pinakes and a small herm hanging on the wall.
Lit.: Caskey & Beazley III 165, Suppl. pl. 24; *LIMC* V Hermes 817.

V144 Cleveland 26.242 **Fig. 112**
Att. rf. kylix (fr.). *ARV*^{2} 1570/12: Eucharides Ptr, recalls the - (500/475 B.C.)
I. Young warrior (helmet breastplate scabbard) bestriding sheep (ram) from behind, piercing its throat with sword in his right hand while drawing its head up and back with his left: sphágia.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 37, 1.

V145 Florence 81600 **Fig. 116**
Att. rf. kylix. (c. 500 B.C.)
I. Hephaistos on winged wheelchair. A. Five youths trying to lift a bov.; on the left youth sharpening knife. B. Trumpeter, youths and horses.

Lit.: *CVA* 4, pl. 117-8; Minto, *MonAnt* 30 (1925) 696-9, pl. 3; Rumpf 1928, 164; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 238 fig. 18.

V146 Malibu JPGM 86.AE.213

Att. rf. calyx-krater (fr.). (c. 430 B.C.)

Upper register: figure (body largely missing) straddling sheep (ram), cutting its throat with a sword in his right hand, while holding one horn with his left: sphágia; two duelling warriors. Lower register: two warriors with the body of a fallen comrade; another warrior stands on the right, making a gesture of mourning.

Lit.: *Greek Vases. Molly and Walter Bareiss Coll.* (Exh. Malibu 1983) 76 nr. 106; Jameson in *CVA* Cleveland 1, ad pl. 37, 1; Griffiths, *BICS* 36 (1989) 139, pl. 7; Jameson, in: Hanson 1991, 217.

V147 Paris Louvre G 112 **Fig. 110**

Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*^{2} 117/7: Epidromos Ptr (525/500 B.C.)

I. Altar (blood); palm tree; youth squatting, holding small pig over altar; man with knife.

Lit.: *CVA* 19, pl. 64, 1-2; Pottier pl. 105; Rumpf 1928, 165; Blatter, *HefteABern* 2 (1976) 6.

V148 Berlin inv. 3419 **Fig. 113**

Cor. alabastron. (625/600 B.C.)

Man wielding double axe; bov. (bull, head bent down).

Lit.: Brendel, *RM* 45 (1930) 219 f., fig.; Payne, *NC* 283 nr. 362; Durand 1986, 104 fig. 24.

V149 Naples MN 2411 (inv 82922) **Fig. 111**

Apul. rf. volute-krater. *RVAp* I p. 35, 2/8: Ptr of the Birth of Dionysos (410/380 B.C.)

A. Statue of Dionysos; altar decorated with bucranium with stémmata (small fire); behind it woman with knife holding small goat over the altar; on the right trapeza (oinochoe) and woman with kanoûn containing cakes etc.; on the left two women dancing. In upper zone: Dionysos himself with satyr and maenads; thymiaterion. B. Centauromachy. Neck: A. Chariot scene. B. Four youths.

Lit.: FR pl. 175-6; *LIMC* III Dionysos 863.

Post-kill: opening up the carcass

V150 Bonn 62 **Fig. 120**

Att. bf. pyxis (fr.). (c. 530 B.C.)

Goat stretched out on table, man on the right pulling its forelegs forward, man on the left (largely lost) pulling hind legs backwards; man standing behind table making incision in breast; on the right arm and leg of man running away.

Lit.: Greifenhagen, *AA* 1935, 489 nr. 55, fig. 66.

V151 Paris Fond. Custodia 3650

Att. bf. pelike. (c. 500 B.C.)

A. Sheep lying on table, feet in air; man on the right holding hind feet; man on the left, at head, holding knife ready to cut; calyx-krater underneath table; cloth hanging above. B. Man and lyre-player.

Lit.: *Klass. Kunst Part. Bezit* (Cat. RMO 1975) nr. 498; Chamay, *Genava* N.S. 24 (1976) 289 nt. 8, nr. 5; Durand, in: Detienne & Vernant (eds.) 1979, 159 fig. 5.

V152 Ferrara T 256 b VP **Fig. 119**

Att. rf. Janiform kantharos. *ARV*^{2} 266/85: Syriskos Ptr (470/460 B.C.)

A. (above front head = Dionysos) Dionysos reclining at symposion. B. (above rear head = satyr) Goat (male) lying on trapeza; on the left man in working garb cutting carcass with knife; on the right boy holding hind legs of goat; bell-krater underneath trapeza; knife case hanging above.

Lit.: Alfieri 1979, 9-10, fig. 25-27; Berthiaume 1982, 46, pl. 20; *Cité* 1984, fig. 4-5; Robertson, *Greek Vases Getty Mus.* 3 (1986) 84-85.

V153 Warsaw 142464 **Fig. 121**

Att. rf. cup-skyphos. *ARV*^{2} 797/142: Euaion Ptr (475/450 B.C.)

A. Goat lying on trapeza; youth holding its hind legs; man extracting inner organs. B. Column; altar (flames); splanchnóptes; man pouring libation from cup.

Lit.: *CVA* pl. 34, 3; Beazley 1928, 35 f., pl. 20; Rumpf 1928, 163; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 331, fig. 15; Berthiaume 1982, 47, pl. 8, 1.

V154 Rome VG **Fig. 122**

East Greek bf. hydria. (525/500 B.C.)

"Ricci hydria". Neck: sacrificial scene framed by vines. In the middle altar (osphûs, flames) and three splanchnóptai, approached from the left by priest holding cup, left hand raised in prayer, auletés, and youth with oinochoe and plate or phiale. On the far left amphora and basket; two youths dissecting pig; three youths dissecting goat; half a sheep (ram) and two legs hanging from the vine. On the right youth holding cup, ladling from amphora on stand; youth with flesh-hook and plate, next to lebes over fire; two youths at kneading table (or louterion?); two youths at trapeza putting bits of meat on spits; youth with cup and (knife??) and seated youth holding "pair of bellows" (?); half a goat hanging from the vine.

Lit.: Ricci, *ASAtene* 24-26 (1946-48) 47-57; Cook & Hemelrijk, *JBerlMus* 5 (1963) 114; Helbig III ^{4}(1969) 554 nr. 2589; *Hist. Hell. World* II (1975) 77; Schefold 1978, 43 fig. 44; Durand 1979, 133-157, pl. I-IV; Berthiaume 1982, 44-53, pl. 1-5; *Cité* (1984) 51 fig. 74; Hemelrijk 1984, 186; Laurens, *BCH* Sup. 14 (1986) 45-56.

Post-kill: osphûs and/or splánchna

(see also V154: Rome VG Ricci hydria and V153: Warsaw 142464)

V155 Adolphseck Schl. Fasanerie 130

Att. bf. amphora. (550/525 B.C.)

A. Man (seated) chastising boy with shoe; man; woman. B. Altar; four splanchnóptai.

Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 66, 1-2; Scheibler, *JdI* 102 (1987) 112 fig. 34 a-b.

V156 Athens Agora P 9273

Att. bf. skyphos (fr.). *ABV* 520/27: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)

Osphûs on altar (flames); man or youth.

Lit.: Moore & Philippides 1986, 281 nr. 1495, pl. 101.

V157 Athens Agora P 15954

Att. bf. oinochoe (fr.). (c. 510/500 B.C.)

Osphûs (?) on altar (flames); on the left woman, and kanoûn (?) on ground; on the right base and shaft of herm (?).

Lit.: Moore & Philippides 1986, 201 nr. 782, pl. 73.

V158 Athens NM 595 **Fig. 153**

Att. bf. lekythos. *ABL* 226/8, pl. 33, 1: Sappho Ptr (500/475 B.C.)

Osphûs on altar (flames); splanchnóptes in Skythian cap (2 spits);

man holding object (?) over fire; female figure mounting chariot drawn by winged horses (myth?).
Lit.: Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 331 fig. 12.

V159 Frankfurt ß 306
Att. bf. oinochoe. *ABV* 530/72: Athena Ptr (500/475 B.C.)
Herm; osphûs (?) on altar (firewood? flames); woman pouring libation from jug onto altar, left hand raised in prayer; woman holding kanoûn.
Lit.: *ABL* 259/112; *CVA* 1, pl. 39, 1-2.

V160 London BM B 362 **Fig. 123**
Att. bf. column-krater. (540/520 B.C.)
A. Herm; osphûs on altar (flames); splanchnóptes; youth cutting up parts of victim on trapeza; on the ground head of goat and kanoûn; two legs hanging above. B. Combat of two warriors; behind each a woman.
Lit.: Walters 1893, B 362; Eisman & Turnbull, *AJA* 82 (1978) 398 (strangely misinterpreted as a blacksmith at work); Durand 1979, 160 fig. 7; Berthiaume 1982, 51, pl 13; Malagardis, *AntK* 28 (1985) 85; *LIMC* V Hermes 118

V161 Athens Agora P 5495
Att. rf. chous (fr.). *ARV*^{2} 673/8: Zannoni Ptr (450/425 B.C.)
Man (putting something on or pouring libation onto?) altar; boy with kanoûn; spit (splánchna?) leaning against table.
Lit.: Van Hoorn 1951, nr. 176, fig. 22.

V162 Athens NM **Fig. 141**
Att. rf. kantharos (fr.). *ARV*^{2} 1649 add: Brygos Ptr, recalls - (500/475 B.C.)
Osphûs on altar (blood); feet of male and female figure. On other fragment: part of kline and table (banquet or symposion).
Lit.: Wolters, *JdI* 14 (1899) 105 fig. 6.

V163 Athens NM 1457
Att. rf. calyx-krater. (4th century B.C.)
A. Herm; altar; tree; part of two columns; woman decorating herm; two seated youth holding two-pronged spits or forks for splánchna (?); woman with thyrsos; two horned skulls above.
Lit.: Schefold, *UKV* 25 nr. 208; Metzger 1965, 81.

V164 Athens NM 1466
Att.(?) rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1158: Kadmos Ptr, like - (425/400 B.C.)
A. Herm; osphûs on altar (firewood); man pouring libation from cup onto altar; youth with kanoûn-tray; man (staff). B. Youths and boy. (Perhaps Boiotian: Beazley).
Lit.: Metzger 1965, 79 nr. 7.

V165 Athens NM 14501 **Fig. 138**
Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 1124/2: The Academy Ptr (425/400 B.C.)
A. Column; osphûs on altar (blood?, firewood; the tail is attached to irregularly shaped object); splanchnóptes; man holding cup (libation?) and raising left hand in prayer; tree; two more altars partly visible. B. Two youths.
Lit.: Metzger 1965, 121.

V166 Bonn 1216,43
Att. rf. bell-krater (fr.). *ARV*² 1181: Ptr of the Athens Dinos (425/400 B.C.)
Splanchnóptes; hand of other figure raised in prayer.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 34, 10.

V167 Bonn 1216,44
Att. rf. bell-krater (fr.). *ARV*² 1181: Ptr of the Athens Dinos (425/400 B.C.)
Splanchnóptes; hand of other figure raised in prayer.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 34, 12.

V168 Bonn 1216,45
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1181: Ptr of the Athens Dinos (425/400 B.C.)
Splanchnóptes.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 34, 11.

V169 Bonn 1216,47
Att. rf. fr. (425/400 B.C.)
Spit with splánchna (splanchnóptes lost); part of man (officiant) holding left hand cupped (nothing in it).
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 34, 14.

V170 Cambridge, Ma., Fogg Art Mus. 1960.344
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1041/10: Peleus Ptr, manner of - (430/420 B.C.)

A. Lampadedromía. Osphûs on altar? (firewood; "two dilute lines suggest the presence of an animal's tail on the altar": Neils); behind the altar bearded man in chiton and ependytes; tree; to the left of the altar hydria; two torch racers (spiked headdresses) come running from the left. B. Three youths.
Lit.: *CVA* Robinson 2, pl. 48, 1 en 47, 2; Giglioli, *ArchCl* 3 (1951) pl. 36, 2; *JHS* 57 (1937) 267; Greifenhagen, *BWPr* 118 (1963) 16-17, pl. 12, 14-15, nr. 50; Froning 1971, 80, 120; Simon 1983, pl. 22, 2; Miller, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) pl. 54 a; Neils 1992, 179 nr. 50.

V171 Catania 9.418 **Fig. 139**
Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 1684/4 bis: Academy Ptr (425/400 B.C.)
A. Osphûs on altar (shaped like a lopsided omphalos; flames); splanchnóptes; man pouring libation from cup onto altar, extending left hand; tree.
Lit.: Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 322 ff. fig. 1-3.

V172 Copenhagen NM 4996
Att. rf. oinochoe. *ARV*² 1214/3: Kraipale Ptr (425/400 B.C.)
Osphûs on altar (firewood, flames); splanchnóptes (not roasting); man (staff) pouring libation from cup onto altar, left hand raised in prayer.
Lit.: *CVA* 4, pl. 157, 2; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 338 fig. 22; Felten 1971, 102 fig 1 (picture reversed!).

V173 Darmstadt A 1969:4 (478) **Fig. 146**
Att. rf. "Panathenaic" amphora. *ARV*² 1146/48: Kleophon Ptr (440/420 B.C.)
A. Osphûs on low altar (eschára, firewood, flames?); man in long patterned robe (priest) pouring libation from kantharos onto altar, and holding pellets in left hand; youth with kanoûn and oinochoe.
B. Man and youth.
Lit.: Gualandi, *Arte Ant. e Mod.* 20 (1962) pl. 115 d; *MeddelelsGlyptKøb* 37 (1981) 35-36 fig. 6-7; Miller, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 321, pl. 53 c.

V174 Dijon 1223
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 225/3: Ptr of London E 2 (525/500 B.C.)
I. Osphûs on altar (flames; snake on face of altar); splanchnóptes; in

the field two more spits with splánchna, and a ladle.
Lit.: Rolley & Caubet 1976, 19 nr. 46, pl. 4.

V175 Durham, N. Car. Duke Un. MA 1972.1 **Fig. 164**
Att. rf. column-krater. (475/450 B.C.)
A. Altar (garland); table with cakes or meat; youth taking something from kanoûn; pinax above altar. B. Youth holding two spits with splánchna.
Lit.: MuM Basel, Sonderl. N (1971) nr. 8; Shapiro (ed.) 1981, 102 nr. 39; Neils 1992, 182 nr. 54.

V176 Ferrara 9925
Att. rf. oinochoe. (c. 425 B.C.)
Altar (flames); splanchnóptes; youth pouring libation from kantharos onto altar, left hand extended; youth with kanoûn (sprigs).
Lit.: Lezzi-Hafter 1976, 108 S62, pl. 118; Arias, *Studi L. Banti* (1965) pl. 8-9; Durand 1986, 139 fig. 64.

V177 Florence 3930
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 170/3: Winchester Ptr (525/500 B.C.)
I. Osphûs on altar (flames); splanchnóptes. A/B. Athletes.
Lit.: *CVA* 3, pl. 76.

V178 Frankfurt ß 413 **Fig. 126**
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1683/31 bis: Hephaistos Ptr (450/440 B.C.)
A. Cult image of Apollo (laurel branch, bow) on column; altar (blood, firewood, flames); man (staff) placing lump on altar; boy proffering kanoûn (tray, three sprigs) with similar lump; splanchnóptes (2 spits, not roasting); man (staff); auletés (not playing).
Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 77-78; Deppert 1970, 30; Von Freeden 1984, 68 nr. 53; *LIMC* II Apollon 272.

V179 Gotha 51 **Fig. 132**
Att. rf. stamnos. *ARV*² 1028/10: Polygnotos (450/425 B.C.)
A. Apollo (kithara); osphûs on altar (firewood, flames); splanchnóptes; man (left hand raised in prayer) holding phiale for libation, into which Nike hovering over altar pours from oinochoe. Inscriptions: Διομέδες, [Ἰ]όλεος, Ἀπόλλον. B. Libation scene: man and two youths.
Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 56-58; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 328 fig. 10; *LIMC* II Apollon 953; *LIMC* III Diomedes I 3.

V180 Heidelberg 143

Att. rf. kylix (fr.). *ARV*² 898/132: Splanchnopt Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
I. splanchnóptes (altar mostly lost); kanoûn (partly visible) on pedestal.
Lit.: Kraiker 1931, 40 nr. 143, pl. 25; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 333 fig. 14.

V181 Kiel B 54 **Fig. 143**

Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1334/14: Nikias Ptr (425/400 B.C.)
A. Herm in naiskos; osphûs (? very sketchy) on altar (blood, firewood, flames); splanchnóptes; youth pouring libation from cup onto altar, left hand extended; boy with kanoûn (tray, sprigs) and oinochoe. B. Two youths. Under each handle: laver.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 36, 1-5; Lullies 1931, pl. 5, 1; Durand 1986, 140 fig. 65; *LIMC* V Hermes 121

V182 Laon 37.1041

Att. rf. krater. (425/400 B.C.)
A. Osphûs on altar (firewood); two splanchnóptai; youth in long patterned robe (priest) holding kantharos (libation?), left arm extended; youth with kanoûn and oinochoe; two horned skulls with stémmata hanging above. B. Herm; youth extending hand over altar; youth with kanoûn; two horned skulls.
Lit.: Durand, in: Étienne & Le Dinahet (eds.) 1991, 45-55, fig. 7-8 (tracing); *Atlas des Religions* (Encyclopaedia Universalis, Paris 1988) 289, fig. 1-2.

V183 Lecce 630

Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1334/13: Nikias Ptr (425/400 B.C.)
A. Column; altar (blood, firewood); two splanchnóptai (not roasting); youth pouring libation from cup onto altar, left hand raised in prayer; on the projecting base of the altar youth (patterned ependytes) holding kanoûn (sprigs); auletés; tree; garland. B. Three youths.
Lit.: *CVA* 2, IV Dr pl. 9, 1 and 3; Bernardini 1965, 94-5.

V184 Lisbon Mus. de Belem 11257

Att. rf. bell-krater. (400/375 B.C.)
A. Osphûs on altar (firewood); two splanchnóptai; youth or woman in long patterned robe (priest or priestess), holding cup in right hand (?) and extending left arm over altar; man and youth; tree.

Lit.: Rocha Pereira 1962, 72 ff., pl. 35-6; Trias de Arribas 1968, 504 nr. 1, pl. 252.

V185 London BM E 455 **Fig. 130**

Att. rf. stamnos. *ARV*² 1028/9: Polygnotos (450/425 B.C.)

A. Osphûs on altar (blood, firewood, flames); two splanchnóptai (one not roasting); man pouring libation from kylix onto altar, left hand raised in prayer; Nike hovering over altar (pouring from lost oinochoe into kylix?); auletés. Inscriptions: Ἀρχεναύτης, Νικόδημος, καλός, Σοσιϝος. B. Three youths.

Lit.: *CVA* 3, pl. 24, 2; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 327 fig. 9; Webster 1972, pl. 4 a; Swaddling 1980, 39; Immerwahr 1990, 110-111 nr. 761.

V186 London BM E 456 **Fig. 131**

Att. rf. stamnos. *ARV*² 1051/17: Group of Polygnotos (450/425 B.C.)

A. Osphûs on altar (firewood, flames); two splanchnóptai (one not roasting); man (lower part restored, including right hand holding kylix for libation), left hand raised in prayer; Nike hovering over altar, pouring from oinochoe; auletés. Inscriptions: Διομέδες, Νίκε. B. Three youths, one with kithara.

Lit.: *CVA* 3, pl. 24, 3; Webster 1972, pl. 4 b; *LIMC* III Diomedes I 4.

V187 London BM E 504 **Fig. 137**

Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1190/25: Pothos Ptr (425/400 B.C.)

A. Osphûs on altar (blood, firewood, flames); splanchnóptes; youth pouring libation from cup onto altar, left hand extended; auletés; man (staff). B. Three youths.

Lit.: Hackl, in: *Münch. arch. St. dem Andenken A. Furtwänglers gewidmet* (1909) 85 nr. 598; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 339 fig. 24.

V188 London BM 98.7-16.6 **Fig. 142**

Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1333/1: Nikias Ptr (425/400 B.C.)

A. Lampadedromía. Osphûs on altar (firewood, flames); three torch racers (spiked headdresses), one bearded with inscription on headband: Ἀντίοχ(ος) or Ἀντιοχ(ίς sc. φυλή); Nike with fillet; old man. B. Three youths. Signature on foot of vase: Νικίας Ἑρμοκλέους Ἀναφλύστιος ἐποίεσεν.

Lit.: *LIMC* I Antiochos 3; Froning 1971, 79 f., 120; Kron 1976, 193, 240, 279 An2, pl. 27, 6; Immerwahr 1990, 115 nr. 800.

V189 Nancy **Fig. 151**

Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*^{2} 1190/26: Pothos Ptr (425/400 B.C.)

A. Osphûs on altar (blood, firewood, flames); splanchnóptes; man, left hand extended over altar, taking something from kanoûn (tray, three sprigs) which is proffered by boy; auletés. B. Three youths.

Lit.: Bulard, *BCH* 70 (1946) 42-50, pl. II; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 340 fig. 25.

V190 Naples MN 127 929

Att. rf. column-krater. *ARV*^{2} 551/15: Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)

A. Herm; osphûs on altar (blood, firewood, flames); splanchnóptes (spits); youth holding kanoûn; man (staff) pouring libation from kylix onto altar; on the right stands another spit with splánchna, and above hangs part of a goat's skull with the horns (stémmata). B. Komos.

Lit.: *MonAnt* 22 (1914) pl. 80; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 332 fig. 13; Boardman 1975, fig. 340; Simon & Hirmer 1976, pl. 173; Simon 1985, 309 fig. 296; Lissarrague, *DialA* Ser. 3, 3, 1 (1985) 77-88.

V191 New York MMA 41.162.4 **Fig. 125**

Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*^{2} 1333/12: Nikias Ptr (425/400 B.C.)

A. Altar (blood, firewood, flames) in front of tree; youth holding kanoûn (tray, three sprigs) containing elongated thin white object partly hanging over the rim (osphûs, tail); youth (staff) extending hand towards altar; youth; two splanchnóptai (on far left and right, not roasting). B. Three youths.

Lit.: *CVA* Gallatin pl. 25, 5; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 341 fig. 26.

V192 Oxford AM

Att. rf. bell-krater (fr.). Talos Ptr, recalls - (425/400 B.C.)

A. Altar (firewood); man or youth pouring libation from cup onto altar, left hand extended; hovering Nike above altar; spit with splánchna; small tripod; horned skull.

Lit.: Beazley, *JHS* 59 (1939) 20 ff. nr. 54.

V193 Oxford AM 536 **Fig. 150**
Att. rf. lekythos. *ARV*² 714/170: Aischines Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Youth carrying spit with splánchna and kanoûn; woman with phiale (libation?)
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 38, 9; JHS 25 (1905) pl. 2, 2; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 332 fig. 19.

V194 Oxford AM G 720
Att. rf. bell-krater (fr.). *ARV*² 1145/27: Kleophon Ptr (440/420 B.C.)
Splanchnóptes.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 66, 31.

V195 Oxford AM 1911.617 **Fig. 145**
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 559/152: Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
I. Youth with skáphe containing irregularly shaped small red objects, and man with writing case. A. Man with writing case; youth; man with writing tablets and stilus; youth bringing skáphe containing similar red objects; on improvised table kotyle-shaped vessel containing similar objects, more of which lie on each side of the kotyle on the platform. B. Osphûs on low altar (firewood, flames); man in long robe (priest) pouring libation from kantharos onto altar, and extending left arm; youth holding oinochoe over altar; man with oinochoe; youth.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 2, 9 and 7, 3-4.

V196 Oxford AM 1931.9 **Fig. 148**
Att. rf. oinochoe. *ARV*² 1069/2: Thomson Ptr (450/425 B.C.)
Altar; splanchnóptes; man pouring libation from cup onto altar; youth with oinochoe, pellets in left hand; part of skull with horns above altar.
Lit.: Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 333 fig. 20; Sotheby March 3, 1931, nr. 98, pl. 51, 1.

V197 Oxford AM 1945.250
Att. rf. bell-krater (fr.). *ARV*² 1145/26: Kleophon Ptr (440/420 B.C.)
Osphûs on altar (firewood, flames); splanchnóptes; man pouring libation from cup onto altar; parts of other figures.
Lit.: Beazley, *JHS* 59 (1939) 15 f. nr. 43.

V198 Palermo MN V 661 a **Fig. 133**
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 472/210: Makron (500/475 B.C.)

Osphûs on altar (blood, flames); splanchnóptes (bearded); man in long patterned robe (priest) holding kantharos and raising left hand in prayer.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 14; Rumpf 1928, fig. 166; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 335 fig. 18.

V199 Paris Louvre G 402 **Fig. 136**
Att. rf. oinochoe. *ARV*² 1214/2: Kraipale Ptr (425/400 B.C.)
Osphûs on altar (blood, firewood, flames); splanchnóptes; youth pouring libation from cup onto altar, left hand raised in prayer; youth (staff).
Lit.: Van Hoorn 1951, nr. 812, fig. 500; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 337 fig. 21; Felten 1971, 103, fig. 1-2; *Cité* (1984) 52 fig. 77.

V200 Paris Louvre G 496 **Fig. 152**
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1190/24: Pothos Ptr (425/400 B.C.)
A. Apollo holding laurel branch; laurel tree; altar (blood, firewood, fire); man holding largish object over fire (part of splánchna?); splanchnóptes; youth with kanoûn (three sprigs) containing cake (?), pours from oinochoe onto altar. Traces of inscriptions (hard to make sense of). B. Three youths.
Lit.: *CVA* 5, pl. 35, 2; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 339 fig. 23; Roux 1971, fig. 26; *LIMC* II Apollon 954.

V201 Paris Louvre CA 1860
Att. rf. oinochoe. *ARV*² 1172/17: Polion (c. 425 B.C.)
Herm; splanchnóptes.
Lit.: Metzger 1965, 80 nr. 8, pl. 29, 2; *LIMC* V Hermes 120

V202 Port Sunlight 5036
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1182/2: Petworth Group (425/400 B.C.)
A. Apollo (?) with laurel branch and cup; column; osphûs on altar (firewood); man holding phiale over altar (libation), left hand extended; youth with kanoûn and oinochoe; auletés. B. Three youths.
Lit.: *LIMC* II Apollon 952; Robertson 1987, 36 nr. 37, pl. 33, 34 b.

V203 Ruvo Coll. Jatta 1093
Att. rf. volute-krater. *ARV*² 1184/1: Kadmos Ptr (425/400 B.C.)
A. Dionysos reclining, with Erotes, satyrs and maenads. B. Apollo and Marsyas. Neck: A. Herm; osphûs on altar (firewood, flames);

two splanchnóptai; man holding cup (libation), left hand raised in prayer; auletés; man and two youths; wreath hanging above altar. B. Apollo and Marsyas.
Lit.: Sichtermann 1966, 20 nr. 10, pl. 12-17 (esp. 14-15); *RVAp* I pl. 1, 4; *LIMC* V Hermes 123

V204 Saint Petersburg 1658 (774) **Fig. 127**
Att. rf. calyx-krater. *ARV*² 1144/14: Kleophon Ptr (440/420 B.C.)
A. Altar (blood?, firewood, flames); splanchnóptes (boy); youth holding kanoûn (tray, three sprigs) containing flat rectangular object; man standing on projecting base of altar holds a roundish smallish object over it in his right hand, extending left hand; three men (staffs, one seated) watching sacrifice from the left; tree. B. Satyrs and maenad.
Lit.: Gualandi, *Arte Ant. e Mod.* 20 (1962) 367 fig. 16 a-b; Peredolskaya 1967, 184 nr. 211, pl. 143; Felten 1971, 113 fig. 3.

V205 Stockholm MedMus NM A 2335
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 860/8 bis: Pistoxenos Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
I. Osphûs on altar (firewood, flames); Dionysos pouring libation from kantharos onto altar; thyrsos. A-B. Youths and horses
Lit.: MuM Basel, Aukt. 22 (1961) nr. 173.

V206 Vatican 17924 **Fig. 144**
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1334/15: Nikias Ptr (425/400 B.C.)
A. Herm; low rounded altar (eschára; firewood, flames); youth standing at altar; youth holding spits with splánchna (not roasting); youth bringing spits with splánchna and kanoûn (three sprigs). B. Two youths.
Lit.: Metzger 1965, 80 nr. 10, pl. 32, 1; *LIMC* V Hermes 122

V207 Vatican ex Astarita 107
Att. rf. fr. (amphora?). *ARV*² 230/52: Eucharides Ptr (500/475 B.C.)
Splanchnóptes in chitoniskos standing to right, holding spit over altar; man or youth standing to right, holding vessel (?) in right hand, left hand raised in prayer; altar with figure of lion in pediment.
Lit.: —

V208 Art market **Fig. 140**
Att. rf. calyx-krater. (425/400 B.C.)
A. Apollo (laurel branch, lyre); two tripods, one on column; altar

(firewood, flames); two splanchnóptai; youth (staff) pouring libation from cup onto altar; auletés; hydria; watching from above the handles: woman (Artemis?) and satyr. B. Satyr between women.
Lit.: MuM Basel, Aukt. 56 (1980) nr. 107; Durand 1986, 132 fig. 56; Schefold & Jung 1988, 79 fig. 88; *LIMC* II Apollon 955.

V209 Private collection
Att. rf. neck-amphora (Nikosthenic). *Paralip* 327/1 bis: Oltos (525/500 B.C.)
A. Dionysos and satyr. B. Woman and satyr. Neck: A and B splanchnóptai on either side of altar under handle.
Lit.: Isler, *MusHelv* 38 (1981) 228-244, pl. 1-4.

V210 Private collection
Att. rf. kylix. Epidromos Ptr (510/500 B.C.)
I. Altar; splanchnóptes; kanoûn on pedestal.
Lit.: Blatter, *HefteABern* 2 (1976) 5-9, pl. 1, 3.

V211 Private collection ex Hamilton
Att. rf. bell-krater. (450/400 B.C.)
A. Altar (flames); man pouring libation from kantharos onto altar, left hand raised in prayer; youth bringing spit with splánchna; youth with kanoûn; youth seated (on omphalos? Apollo?).
Lit.: Gerhard, *AZ* 3 (1845) pl. 36, 2; Metzger 1965, 108 nr. 5.

Post-kill: taratalla
(see also V160: London B 362 and V154: Rome VG Ricci hydria)

V212 Athens NM Akr 654 **Fig. 154**
Att. bf. volute-krater (fr.).
Neck: Satyrs and women dancing, one woman with meat on spit; satyr drawing wine from dinos on stand. Two men at lebes on tripod stand over fire, one stirring (or picking something from the lebes with kreagra), the other holding an unexplained object (skáphe?); man cutting meat and skewering pieces on spits. Tripods and dinoi; agon.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 654; Karouzou, *BCH* 79 (1955) 192, pl. 9; Laurens, *BCH* Sup. 14 (1986) 47, fig. 4.

V213 Boston MFA 99.527 **Fig. 157**
Att. bf. oinochoe. *ABV* 430/25: Class of Vatican G 47 (500/475 B.C.)

Man and boy cutting up a leg of meat; another leg hanging in a tree; chopping block (or altar?); table with pieces of meat on it, and a krater underneath.
Lit.: Sparkes, *JHS* 95 (1975) pl. 16 b; Boardman 1974, fig. 287; *Hist. Hell. World* II 486.

V214 Salerno
Att. bf. kylix. *ABV* 520/34: Theseus Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
I. Youth carrying the leg of an ox over his shoulder.
Lit.: Berthiaume 1982, 49, pl. 9, 2.

V215 Agrigento 26 (715) **Fig. 159**
Att. rf. lekythos. *ARV*^{2} 521/49: Syracuse Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Boy running with leg of meat.
Lit.: Berthiaume 1982, 112 nt. 40, pl. 17.

V216 Athens NM Akr 965
Att. rf. fr. *ARV*^{2} 253/56: Syleus Ptr (500/475 B.C.)
Man and boy chopping meat.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz II nr. 965, pl. 78.

V217 Bologna MC 361
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*^{2} 65/113: Oltos (525/500)
I. Youth running with lyre and leg of meat. A. Herakles and the lion. B. Peleus and Atalanta between Pegasi.
Lit.: *CVA* pl. 1, 3; pl. 3; pl. 4, 4-5; Bruhn 1943, fig. 51.

V218 Bologna MC 366
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*^{2} 412/9: Dokimasia Ptr (480/460 B.C.)
I. Boy holding leg of meat; basin. A. Bearded man in loin-cloth assisting at copulation of donkeys. B. Two bull-calves and a heifer.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 7; Beazley, *JHS* 49 (1929) 288; Rumpf, *BJb* 161 (1961) 210.

V219 Boston MFA 01.8109 **Fig. 163**
Att. rf. neck-amphora. *ARV*^{2} 553/40: Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
A. Boy victor and trainer. B. Youth dragging the skin of an ox.
Lit.: Caskey & Beazley 1954, pl. 50, 96.

V220 Boston MFA 10.184 **Fig. 160**
Att. rf. neck-amphora. *ARV*² 553/39: Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
A. Zeus and Ganymedes. B. Boy running with a leg of meat.
Lit.: Caskey & Beazley 1954, pl. 50, 95.

V221 Boulogne 134
Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 293/47: Tyszkiewicz Ptr (500/475 B.C.)
A. Youth (staff) giving cock to boy (staff); feline animal and dog. B. Man (staff) holding hare; boy running away with leg of meat and cake on platter.
Lit.: *Hommes, Dieux et Héros de la Grèce ancienne* (Cat. exp. Rouen 1982-3) 194-5 nr. 81.

V222 Erlangen 486 **Fig. 155**
Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 250/21: Syleus Ptr (500/475 B.C.)
A. Man and boy cutting up meat on chopping block.
Lit.: Lullies, *AM* 65 (1940) pl. 2, 2; Rumpf, *MuZ* pl. 23, 6; Grünhagen 1948, 45, pl. 16; Chamay, *Genava* N.S. 24 (1976) 286 fig. 7; Berthiaume 1982, 118 nt. 15, pl. 14, 2.

V223 Florence 4224
Att. rf. kylix (fr.). *ARV*² 875/16: Ancona Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
I. Man in long patterned loin-cloth, holding máchaira; part of animal on chopping block.
Lit.: Boardman 1989, fig. 78.

V224 Florence 5 B 2 (+ frr. Astarita and Heidelberg)
Att. rf. kylix (fr.). *ARV*² 146/3: Epeleios Ptr (510/500 B.C.)
I. Symposion. A. Man in robe (priest); hand holding skyphos; hand holding wineskin; youth carrying kanoûn (?) and wide flat basket; two youths, each carrying leg of meat over shoulder. B. Komos.
Lit.: *CVA* pl. 5, 52; Kraiker 1931, pl. 3, 12 and 5, 35.

V225 Heidelberg 253
Att. bf. olpe.
Two men chopping and skewering meat at table; two dogs.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 39, 3; Berthiaume 1982, 53, pl. 5, 2.

V226 Laon 37.1034
Att. rf. skyphos. (475/450 B.C.)
A. Youth (staff) carrying leg of meat. B. Man leaning on staff.

Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 51, 5-6.

V227 London BM E 8
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 63/88: Oltos (525/500 B.C.)
I. Boy running with lyre and leg of meat. A. Herakles and Kyknos. B. Dionysos and Giant.
Lit.: Murray 1894, pl. II, 5; Perrot & Chipiez 10, 372 fig. 219.

V228 London BM E 62 **Fig. 162**
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 471/194: Makron (500/475 B.C.)
I. Man seated (staff); boy bringing leg of meat and dish containing cake (? or meats?). A. Men and youth. B. Men.
Lit.: Murray 1894, pl. XI, 41.

V229 London BM 1928.1-17.60
Att. rf. lekythos. *ARV*² 660/68: Ptr of the Yale lekythos (475/450 B.C.)
Man (staff) holding a piece of meat.
Lit.: Berthiaume 1982, 112 nt. 40, pl. 11, 1.

V230 Munich
Att. rf. lekythos. *ARV*² 691/19: Bowdoin Ptr, manner of - (475/450 B.C.)
Boy chopping up leg of meat on table; goat's head on table; basin underneath.
Lit.: Lullies 1955, pl. 24, 62; Berthiaume 1982, 118 nt. 15, pl. 15, 1.

V231 Munich 2674 **Fig. 161**
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 479/326: Makron (500/475 B.C.)
I. Boy running with hoop, carrying leg of meat; dog.
Lit.: Beck 1975, pl. 55, 285.

V232 Paris Louvre C 10918
Att. rf. kylix (fr.). *ARV*² 467/130: Makron (500/475 B.C.)
I. Man taking dough (?) from lebes on tripod stand. A. Youth chopping up leg of meat at table; youth skewering pieces of meat on spit. B. Youth with spit.
Lit.: Sparkes, *JHS* 85 (1965) 163, pl. 30, 5; Durand 1979, 165 fig. 19; Berthiaume 1982, 118 nt. 15, pl. 12, 1.

V233 Providence 25.076
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 57/44: Oltos (525/500 B.C.)
I. Warrior with horse. A. Athlete. B. Youth carrying leg of meat on shoulder.
Lit.: *CVA* pl. 13. *JHS* 47 (1927) 64; Berthiaume 1982, 49, pl. 9, 1.

V234 Saint Petersburg 4509
Att. rf. kylix. : Douris (500/475 B.C.)
I. Leg of meat hanging above basin; woman holding staff or spear, and unclear object.
Lit.: Peredolskaja, *Fests. E. von Mercklin* (1964) 116-8, pl. 49-50; Peredolskaya 1967, 63 nr. 64, pl. 42, 2

V235 Vatican 17924 (ex Astarita 574)
Att. rf. kylix (fr.). *ARV*² 366/89: Triptolemos Ptr (500/475 B.C.)
I. Boy standing at a chopping block with a severed head of a bov. lying on it; spit.
Lit.: Berthiaume 1982, 118 nt. 15, pl. 18.

V236 Art market
Att. rf. neck-amphora. (510/500 B.C.)
A. Hermes. B. Boy running, with leg of meat, and roundish object (cake?).
Lit.: MuM Basel, Aukt. 56 (1980) nr. 92.

V237 Private collection (Hamburg)
Att. rf. kylix (fr.).
I. Boy holding purse; diphros, and leg of meat hanging above.
Lit.: Koch-Harnack 1983, 140, Kat. 109, fig. 72; Meyer, *JdI* 103 (1988) 116 fig. 31.

V238 Adolphseck Schl. Fasanerie 120 **Fig. 158**
Boiot. bf. lid of lekanis. (c. 500 B.C.)
Two columns; men working meat: cutting in slices; skewering on spits; bringing spits to man seated at spit resting on stand.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 63; 64, 1-2; Brommer 1955, pl. 11; Bruns, *Arch. Hom.* II Q, 48 f. pl. 8.

V239 Munich 2347 **Fig. 156**
Boiot. rf. pelike.
A. Man cutting up meat on chopping block. B. Woman seated (sleep-

ing?); cat looking at a dish on a high stand, perhaps containing pieces of meat (?).
Lit.: Lullies, *AM* 65 (1940) pl. 1 and 2, 1; Rumpf, *MuZ* 83, pl. 23, 7; Berthiaume 1982, 118 nt. 15, pl. 14, 1.

V240 Paris Louvre E 635
Cor. column-krater. *CVP* I 147/1 (c. 600 B.C.)
A. Herakles banqueting in the house of Eurytios. B. Battle. Under handles: (1) Man and boy chopping up leg of meat. (2) Suicide of Aias.
Lit.: Berthiaume 1982, 118 nt. 15, pl. 12, 2.

Post-kill: hieroskopía

V241 Bologna MC C 253
Att. bf. neck-amphora. (525/500 B.C.)
A. Dionysos (kantharos); Athena; Hermes. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man (staff) gesturing with left hand; dog biting in staff.
Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 14, 1-2; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 4, fig. 25.

V242 Bonn 464.39 **Fig. 167**
Att. bf. neck-amphora. (525/500 B.C.)
A. Hieroskopía: small bearded man (slave) presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the slave on the left old man (staff) gesturing with right hand.
Lit.: Greifenhagen, *AA* 1935, 434 nr. 16, 439-440 fig. 25; Himmelmann, *AbhMainz* 1971 nr. 13, 26 fig. 35. Cf. Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 92-108; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 5.

V243 Boulogne 100
Att. bf. neck-amphora. *ABV* 271/71: Antimenes Ptr (525/500 B.C.)
A. Aias and Kassandra. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man (staff) gesturing with right hand.
Lit.: Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 93 nr. 2, fig. 2, pl. 1, 2; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K1, fig. 8; Burow 1989, 88 nr. 83, pl. 84; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 3, fig. 24.

V244 Boulogne 593
Att. bf. neck-amphora.
Hieroskopía: : boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind

the boy on the left old man; on the right woman.
Lit.: Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 6 bis.

V245 Brussels R 291

Att. bf. neck-amphora. *ABV* 270/52: Antimenes Ptr (525/500 B.C.)
A. Herakles and Eurystheus. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; another warrior; Skythian archer.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, p. 8, 1; Vos 1963, 118 nr. 325; Boardman 1974, fig. 187; Van der Meer, *BABesch* 54 (1979) 55 nr. 2, 63 fig. 15; Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 93 nr. 1, fig. 1, pl. 1,1; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K2; Burow 1989, 91 nr. 104, pl. 103 b; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 2, fig. 23.

V246 Cambridge 5/17

Att. bf. "Panathenaic" amphora.
A. Athena and Giant. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man (staff) gesturing with left hand; on the right Skythian archer and old man.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 15; Van der Meer, *BABesch* 54 (1979) 55 nr. 3, 63 fig. 16; Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 93 nr. 10, fig. 10; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K3, fig. 5; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 9, fig. 27.

V247 Copenhagen NM 3241 **Fig. 166**

Att. bf. amphora (fr.).
A. Zeus; Hermes; Apollo; Muzes. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting splánchna for inspection to old man (staff); other splánchna (or meat) on table; on the left Skythian archer; on the right warrior, woman, Skythian archer.
Lit.: *CVA* 3, pl. 102, 2; Vos 1963, 118 nr. 326; Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 93 nr. 8, fig. 8, pl. 3, 1; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K8, fig. 4; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 15, fig. 31.

V248 Florence 3856

Att. bf. neck-amphora. *ABV* 278/30: Antimenes Ptr, manner of - (525/500 B.C.)
A. Judgement of Paris. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man (staff); on the right woman.
Lit.: Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 93 nr. 3, fig. 3, pl.

2, 1; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K5, fig. 6; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 6, fig. 26.

V249 Göttingen Hu 548 x

Att. bf. neck-amphora. (525/500 B.C.)

B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man (staff) gesturing with right hand; behind him woman weeping; on the right Skythian archer; dog.

Lit.: Vos 1963, 118 nr. 327, pl. 13 a; Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 93 nr. 7, fig. 7; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K6; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 14, fig. 30.

V250 Haifa

Att. bf. neck-amphora. (525/500 B.C.)

A. Two horsemen; two dogs. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man (staff) gesturing with right hand; on the far left Skythian archer; dog; bird.

Lit.: Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 93 nr. 5, fig. 4-5; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K7; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 13.

V251 London BM B 171

Att. bf. amphora.

A. Judgement of Paris. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man (staff) gesturing with left hand; on the right woman and youth.

Lit.: *CVA* 3, pl. 31, 4; Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 93 nr. 9, fig. 9; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K9; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 11.

V252 Paris Louvre CA 3277

Att. bf. neck-amphora. (525/500 B.C.)

A. Dionysos and two satyrs. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior.

Lit.: Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 93 nr. 4, pl. 2, 2; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K10; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 1.

V253 Port Sunlight 5004 (X 384)

Att. bf. neck-amphora (fr.). : Antimenes Ptr, manner of - (?) (525/500 B.C.)

A. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man (staff; upper part largely modern); on the right woman; dog. B. Three warriors facing left (upper part modern); dog.
Lit.: Robertson 1987, 21 nr. 7, 64 fig. 5 a-b; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 8.

V254 Rome VG 47266
Att. bf. skyphos (fr.). (500/475 B.C.)
A=B. Hieroskopía: small bearded man (slave) presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the slave on the left old man (staff) gesturing with his hand; on the right woman; dog.
Lit.: Ricci, *MonAnt* 42 (1955) 975-6 nr. 41, fig. 237; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 7.

V255 Rome VG 77695
Att. bf. amphora (fr.).
Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to (warrior); behind the boy on the left (old?) man (staff); on the far left Skythian archer.
Lit.: Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 576; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 16, fig. 32.

V256 Tarquinia 640
Att. bf. neck-amphora.
A. Athena and Hermes at altar. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man (staff); on the right old man (staff) and Skythian archer; dog.
Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 31, 4; Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 93 nr. 6, fig. 6; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K11; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 12, fig. 29.

V257 The Hague Meermanno 616/830
Att. bf. neck-amphora. *ABV* 286/8: Eye-siren Group (530/510 B.C.)
A. Herakles and Amazons. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man (staff) gesturing with right hand; on the right another warrior and an old man (staff).
Lit.: Galestin 1977, 56-7; Van der Meer, *BABesch* 54 (1979) 55 nr. 1, 63 fig. 14. Cf. Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 92-108; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K4, fig. 7; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 10, fig. 28.

V258 Art market

Att. bf. neck-amphora. (525/500 B.C.)

A. Athena and Giant. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; on the left behind the boy youth (staff); on the right Skythian archer and warrior.

Lit.: MuM Basel, Aukt. 63 (1983) nr. 28. Cf. Durand & Lissarrague, Hephaistos 1 (1979) 92-108; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 10 bis.

V259 Private collection (Italy)

Att. bf. neck-amphora. *ABV* 269/39: Antimenes Ptr (Umkreis?) (525/500 B.C.)

A. Apollo and Herakles: struggle for the Tripod; Artemis and Athena. B. Hieroskopía: : boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man (staff); on the right woman.

Lit.: Von Bothmer, in: *Fests. F. Brommer* (1977) 55 nr. 66; Burow 1989, 99 nr. U7, pl. 147.

V260 Paris Louvre G 46

Att. rf. amphora. *ARV*^{2} 220/3: Nikoxenos Ptr (500/475 B.C.)

A. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man (staff); on the right woman and Skythian archer; dog. B. Dionysos with satyrs and maenads.

Lit.: *CVA* 5, pl. 31, 2, 3, 5, 8 and pl. 29, 7; Van der Meer, *BABesch* 54 (1979) 55 nr. 4, 64 fig. 17; Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 93 nr.12, fig. 12; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K12, fig. 11; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 18, fig. 34.

V261 Vatican ex Astarita 763

Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*^{2} 1623/64 bis: Oltos (525/500 B.C.)

I. Maenad. A. Herakles and Amazons. B. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior; behind the boy on the left old man holding staff (inscription: Νέστορ) gesturing with left hand; on the right female (?) figure mounting chariot, youth and man.

Lit.: Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K13, fig. 9-10; *LIMC* I Antilochos 6; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 19, fig. 35.

V262 Würzburg 507 **Fig. 165**

Att. rf. amphora. *ARV*^{2} 181/1: Kleophrades Ptr (500/475 B.C.)

A. Hieroskopía: boy presenting liver for inspection to warrior, who holds up something (gall bladder?) in his right hand; on the left

Skythian archer; on the right woman holding phiale; dog. B. Komos.
Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 8, 9, 11; Langlotz pl. 175; FR pl. 103, II p. 226; Vos 1963, 118 nr. 331; Van der Meer, *BABesch* 54 (1979) 56 nr. 5, 64 fig. 18; Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 1 (1979) 93 nr. 11, fig. 11, pl. 3, 2; Kossatz-Deissmann, *AA* 1981, 562-576, K14, fig. 1-3; Lissarrague 1990, 58 nr. 17, fig. 33.

Scenes without sacrificial animal (but with kanoûn or líknon)

V263 Athens NM Akr 1347
Att. bf. skyphos (fr.).
Kanephóros (kanoûn with red fillets or sprigs, containing red objects); parts of other figures.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 1347.

V264 Athens NM Akr 2185
Att. bf. pyxis (fr.).
Head of kanephóros.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 2185, pl. 95.

V265 Athens NM Akr 2575
Att. bf. pinax (fr.).
Kanephóros, preceded by another figure, and followed by auletés and woman holding trident (?)
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz I nr. 2575, pl. 108.

V266 Berlin inv. 4280
Att. bf. oinochoe. (500/475 B.C.)
Herm; altar (blood?, flames); youth with kanoûn, extending right hand towards herm; auletés.
Lit.: Licht III 116-7; Curtius 1903, 3 fig. 1.

V267 London BM 1906.12-15.1
Att. bf. Siana kylix. *ABV* 90/7: Burgon Group (575/550 B.C.)
A. On the right woman with líknon at altar (flames); chain-dance of five women and youth; seated woman. B. Man ploughing and man sowing.
Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 10, 6 a-b; Ashmole, *JHS* 66 (1946) 8 ff., pl. 2-3; Bérard, *AntK* 19 (1976) 102, pl. 27, 1; Brijder 1983, 263 nr. 290, pl. 58; Durand 1986, 181 f., fig. 88; Malagardis, *AEphem* 1988, 116, fig. 8 a; *LIMC* III Bouzyges 1; *LIMC* IV Demeter 417.

V268 London BM 46.5-18.33
Att. bf. oinochoe. (480/450 B.C.)
Man with kanoûn and oinochoe at altar (flames).
Lit.: —

V269 Adolphseck Schl. Fasanerie 49
Att. rf. lekythos. : Bowdoin Ptr (480/470 B.C.)
Youth with kanoûn (red sprigs and fillets), pouring libation (red wine) from oinochoe onto altar (flames).
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 37, 1 and 4.

V270 Agrigento
Att. rf. lekythos. *ARV*² 652/31: Nikon Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Woman with oinochoe and kanoûn approaching altar.
Lit.: Griffo & Ziretta 1964, 107.

V271 Agrigento
Att. rf. lekythos. *ARV*² 652/32: Nikon Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Woman with sprigs; girl with oinochoe, phiale and kanoûn.
Lit.: —

V272 Athens
Att. rf. chous. (425/400 B.C.)
Herm; altar; three youths, with oinochoe, kanoûn, kantharos. Inscription: Φίλιος, Τύχων.
Lit.: Stauropoullos, *ADelt* 20 (1965) B' pl. 56 c. For the ithyphallic herm identified as Tychon cf. Herter, *RE* VIIA 1698 ff.; Herter 1932, 309.

V273 Athens Agora P 5270
Att. rf. chous (fr.). (c. 425 B.C.)
Youth with kanoûn, oinochoe and drinking-horn, approaching statue (Dionysos?) on base; man approaching altar.
Lit.: Van Hoorn 1951, 81/174, fig. 50; *AJA* 49 (1945) 526 fig. 1.

V274 Athens Agora P 15210
Att. rf. chous. (425/400 B.C.)
Smelting furnace; man in long patterned robe, and smaller balding man (slave?) with kanoûn; between them anvil (?).
Lit.: Van Hoorn 1951, 90 nr. 227, fig. 19; Burford 1972, fig. 35. Mattusch, *Hesperia* 46 (1977) 378, pl. 96 d.

V275 Athens NM 1285
Att. rf. squat lekythos. *ARV*² 1175/10: Aison (425/400 B.C.)
Woman with oinochoe and kanoûn.
Lit.: —

V276 Athens NM 1392
Att. rf. calyx-krater. *ARV*² 1460/58: L.C. Group (4th century B.C.)
Columns; herm; altar; woman holding kanoûn (tray containing cakes), decorating herm.
Lit.: Metzger 1965, 81 nr. 12.

V277 Athens NM 2202
Att. rf. krater (fr., unfinished).
Herm; altar; figure holding kanoûn, crowning herm.
Lit.: Metzger 1965, 81 nr. 13.

V278 Athens NM Akr 325
Att. rf. kylix (fr.). *ARV*² 460/20: Makron (500/475 B.C.)
I. Herakles and the Hydra. A-B. Zeus bringing the infant Dionysos to his nurses, preceded by Hermes; at the altar (blood) woman holding oinochoe and flower, and woman with kanoûn, putting something on altar; trees in landscape.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz II nr. 325, pl. 20 ff.

V279 Athens NM Akr 618
Att. rf. fr. pointed amphora (?). *ARV*² 553/31: Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Youth; man carrying líknon; part of basket or líknon carried by figure following him.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz II nr. 618, pl. 48; Bérard, *AntK* 19 (1976) 101-114, pl. 26, 1.

V280 Athens NM Akr 715
Att. rf. fr. (c. 450 B.C.)
Head of kanephóros.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz II nr. 715, pl. 54.

V281 Athens NM Akr 752
Att. rf. bell-krater (fr.). *ARV*² 1090/49: Ptr of the Louvre Centauromachy (450/425 B.C.)
Altar; woman standing behind altar with hands raised in prayer; on

the right stands woman holding small black pellets (olaí?) in left hand and putting some on altar (some can bee seen on the altar); foot of a third figure on the left.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz II nr. 752, pl. 64.

V282 Athens NM Akr 779
Att. rf. stamnos (fr.). *ARV*² 258/29: Copenhagen Ptr (485/470 B.C.)
On the ground kanoûn with lekythos in it; on the left part of base and stand of laver; on the right feet of woman.
Lit.: Graef & Langlotz II nr. 778, pl. 68; Ginouvès 1962, 92, pl. 22, 67.

V283 Athens NM (Coll. Vlasto-Serpieri)
Att. rf. chous. *ARV*² 1323/36: Meidias Ptr, manner of - (425/400 B.C.)
Eros at low tabel with kanoûn on it; on the left small Eros fastening shoes of woman; on the right woman and youth (phiale).
Lit.: Van Hoorn 1951, nr. 273, fig. 23; Karouzou, *Fests. Rumpf* (1952) pl. 28, 1, 29.

V284 Berlin F 2172
Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 581/4: Perseus Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
A. Herm, bird on its outsize phallos; altar (blood, flames). B. Herm (frontal); youth with kanoûn.
Lit.: Deubner, *JdI* 40 (1925) 216 fig. 11; Licht III 80; Boardman 1975, fig. 330; Marcadé 1977, 155.

V285 Berlin F 2189
Att. rf. oinochoe. *ARV*² 363/27: Triptolemos Ptr (500/475 B.C.)
Kanephóros and two women.
Lit.: Pfuhl 1923, 792.

V286 Boston MFA 00.334
Att. rf. kantharos. *ARV*² 126/27: Nikosthenes Ptr (525/500 B.C.)
A. Altar (flames); man pouring libation from kantharos onto altar (Dionysos?); woman stretching out her hands towards altar; kanoûn at her feet; on either side dancing woman; thyrsos. B. Dionysos reclining; with satyrs. On the lower zone: A. Herakles and bull. B. Herakles and lion.
Lit.: Caskey & Beazley III pl. 68; Pfuhl 1923, 320; Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1959, pl. 30.

V287 Cassel 551
Att. rf. alabastron. (475/450 B.C.)
Palm-tree; woman with kanoûn, pouring libation from phiale onto altar.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 41, 5-7; Sourvinou-Inwood, *BICS* 32 (1985) 130, pl. 8.

V288 Copenhagen NM
Att. rf. fr. (4th century B.C.)
Herm; woman with kanoûn (?).
Lit.: Metzger 1965, 82 nr. 14, pl. 29, 3.

V289 Copenhagen NM 6
Att. rf. stemmed dish. *ARV*² 787/3: Dish Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
I. Altar (blood, flames); woman with kanoûn (three sprigs), holding sprig over altar. Inscription: Ἄρτεμις.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 161, 6; *LIMC* II Artemis 991.

V290 Copenhagen NM Chr VIII 939
Att. rf. bell-krater. (425/400 B.C.)
Altar (firewood); column behind it, on which hovering Nike is about to place tripod; on the left man (staff) taking something from kanoûn proffered by boy; tree; on the right two figures in ornate costume and feathered headdress, one crouching (female?) and one standing (male? holding lyre); horned skull above altar. (Thargelia?: Blinkenberg & Johansen, *CVA*).
Lit.: *CVA* 4, pl. 147; Froning 1971, 20 ff., pl. 6, 2.

V291 Ferrara T 128 VT
Att. rf. volute-krater. *ARV*² 1052/25: Group of Polygnotos (450/425 B.C.)
Between two columns seated god (phiale, staff, snake-headdress) and goddess (phiale, staff, lion); altar (firewood); woman carrying on her head líknon covered with cloth; auletrís; dancing girl playing tympanon; dancing girl handling snake; dancing girl and youth (snake-headdress), both with ependytes over chiton, handling snakes; auletrís; small girl; dancing girl playing tympanon (snake headdress), small and tall (snake-headdress) dancing girl handling snakes; boy (snake-headdress, ependytes) playing kymbala; three dancing girls handling snakes; auletés in long patterned robe.
Lit.: Alfieri & Arias 1958, pl. 74-81; *LIMC* III Dionysos 869.

V292 Florence 3950 (+ Greifswald 340)
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 914/142: Ptr of Bologna 417 (475/450 B.C.)
I. Dionysos and maenad. A. Girls dancing. B. Altar; woman holding two small torches (? auloi?) over it; woman holding bowl over altar, extending left hand; woman with kanoûn; woman with phiale; girl between auletés and youth holding auloi; dancing man.
Lit.: *CVA* 3, pl. 109-110; Hundt & Peters 1959, pl. 31.

V293 Kyrenia
Att. rf. lekythos. (475/450 B.C.)
Column; woman with kanoûn, pouring libation from oinochoe onto altar.
Lit.: *AJA* 77 (1973) 432, pl. 84, 45; *BCH* 97 (1973) 625.

V294 London BM E 88
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 631/45: Chicago Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
I. Thymiaterion on pedestal (top off); woman (box in left hand) putting incense in it; klismos with embroidered cushion; wreath hanging above.
Lit.: Milne, *AJA* 43 (1939) 247-254, fig. 1; *DA* s.v. "turibulum" fig. 7178.

V295 London BM E 522
Att. rf. oinochoe. *ARV*² 1207/32: Shuvalov Ptr (c. 425 B.C.)
Boy with kanoûn (tray with three sprigs) and oinochoe.
Lit.: Lezzi-Hafter 1976, nr. S63, pl. 119.

V296 London BM 97.10-28.2
Att. rf. kylix (fr.). *ARV*² 108/26: Kachrylion (potter) (525/500 B.C.)
I. Archer. A. Figure pouring libation from phiale into flames (on lost altar); figure holding kanoûn containing unclear object. B. Procession?
Lit.: Hoppin 1919, I 158 f.; *JHS* 41 (1921) 120 ff., fig. 3.

V297 Madrid 11.122
Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 564/30: Pig Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
A. Herm; altar (flames), kanoûn standing on its base; man playing lyre. B. Man pursuing boy with hoop.
Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 9, 2 a-b; Leroux 1912, nr. 158; Alvarez-Ossorio 1910, pl. 10, 1.

V298 Malibu JPGM 83.AE.252
Att. rf. column-krater. : Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
A. Herm; altar; man with kanoûn holding kylix over altar (libation); youth (staff). B. Two youths (staffs) on either side of a pillar surmounted by a dinos.
Lit.: *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984) 242 nr. 57.

V299 Malibu JPGM 83.AE.255
Att. rf. column-krater. : Pan Ptr, manner of - (475/450 B.C.)
A. Herm; woman with kanoûn. B. Herm.
Lit.: *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984) 243 nr. 58.

V300 Marseille 15038
Att. rf. kylix.
I. Altar on the left, laver on the right; boy with kanoûn (tray), holding vessel (chérnips or phiale?) over altar.
Lit.: Clavel-Lévêque 1977, 163; Durand 1986, 129 fig. 54.

V301 Munich 8934
Att. rf. skyphos.
A. Naked female dwarf with skyphos. B. Upright phallos with eye, surmounted by kanoûn, and with wing at base; branches; krater or skyphos on table.
Lit.: Vierneisel, *MüJb* 18 (1967) 247 f. fig. 8; Robertson, in: *Stud. A.D. Trendall* (1979) 129-134, pl. 34, 3-4; Zanker 1989, 25 f. fig. 13; Vierneisel & Kaeser (eds.) 1990, 450 f. nr. 83; Halm-Tisserant, *Hephaistos* 10 (1991) 65.

V302 Naples MN 3369
Att. rf. column-krater. *ARV*^{2} 523/9: Orchard Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
A. Herm; altar with pinax hanging above; kanephóros holding stick; woman, girl, woman, all holding sticks (twigs? small torches?).
B. Man, youth, woman.
Lit.: Boardman 1989, fig. 42; *LIMC* V Hermes 100.

V303 New York Brooklyn Mus. 59.34 **Fig. 147**
Att. rf. neck-amphora. *ARV*^{2} 604/57: Niobid Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
A. Death of Orpheus. B. Libation: man (pellets in left hand) pouring from stemless kantharos onto altar (flames, blood); boy with oinochoe.
Lit.: *Brief guide* (1970) 74-77; *Brooklyn Annual* 1, 16-21.

V304 Newcastle-upon-Tyne
Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 1659; *Paralip* 386: Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
A. kanephóros and old woman. B. Girl running to a woman.
Lit.: Shefton, *ArchRep* 1969-70, 59 fig. 13.

V305 Newcastle-upon-Tyne
Att. rf. "Panathenaic" amphora. *Paralip* 445/128 bis: Group of Polygnotos (450/425 B.C.)
A. Two youths carrying between them a large flat kanoûn (three sprigs). B. Two youths on either side of a herm.
Lit.: Sotheby, June 12, 1967, 7 nr. 6.

V306 Oxford AM 1954.255 **Fig. 149**
Att. rf. bell-krater (fr.). (c. 425/420 B.C.)
Libation: man or youth (staff) holding stemless kylix in right and pellets in left hand.
Lit.: Beazley, *JHS* 59 (1939) 18 nr. 49; Idem, *ARV*² 1149 ad 9.

V307 Paris Louvre CA 153
Att. rf. calyx-krater. *ARV*² 1458/24: L.C. Group (4th century B.C.)
A. Column; herm; altar; woman with kanoûn (tray containing cake?) decorating herm; Dionysos seated and Eros. B. Two youths.
Lit.: Schefold, *UKV* nr. 263, pl. 42, 1; Metzger 1965, 88, pl. 42, 1-2.

V308 Paris Louvre C 10793
Att. rf. pelike (fr.). *ARV*² 555/92: Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
A. Three herms. B. kanephóros; youth with hydria.
Lit.: De la Genière, *REA* 62 (1960) 249-253, pl. 11; Osborne, *ProcCambrPhilSoc* 211 (1985) 47-73, pl. 3.

V309 Paris Louvre C 11351
Att. rf. kylix (fr.). *ARV*² 332/23: Onesimos, manner of - (500/475 B.C.)
I. Youth squatting, holding kanoûn, right arm extended (putting something on altar?).
Lit.: —

V310 (Once Rome Pal. Ruspoli, now Private coll. New York)
Att. rf. stamnos. *ARV*² 552/23; *Beazley Add*² 257: Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)

A. Low altar; priest holding kantharos, pellets in left hand; opposite him youth (loin-cloth) with oinochoe; behind priest youth (loin-cloth) with kanoûn. B. Auletés with judges.
Lit.: Beazley, in: *CVA* Oxford 1 (1927) p. 6-7; Beazley 1931, 22; Webster 1972, 142.

V311 Saint Petersburg 19893 (1915)
Att. rf. chous. (4th century B.C.)
Table before column-idol of Dionysos; woman with kanoûn (?); man seated; youth; in the field: grapes and skull.
Lit.: Schefold, *UKV* nr. 320; Van Hoorn 1951, nr. 603, fig. 53; Metzger 1965, 60, pl. 27, 3.

V312 Toledo, Ohio Mus. of Art 72.55
Att. rf. kylix. Makron (500/475 B.C.)
I. Altar (blood, flames); woman with kanoûn, pouring libation from oinochoe onto altar; thymiaterion on pedestal (fumes rising from it). A-B. Men and youth courting women.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 53, 1.

V313 Tübingen S./10 1347
Att. rf. skyphos. *ARV*² 1023 (c. 425 B.C.)
A. Themis holding kanoûn (three sprigs) and torch; Bendis with two javelins; fawn eating from tough. B. Priapic herm set in heap of stones; Kephalos seated, holding two javelins and an oinochoe; Artemis with two javelins; dog attacking hedgehog. All names inscribed: (A) Θέμις, Βέν[δι]ς, (B) Κέφαλος, Ἄρτεμις.
Lit.: *CVA* 5, pl. 21-22; Herter 1926, pl. 41; Metzger 1965, 78 nr. 6, pl. 29, 1; Nilsson 1967, 504, pl. 33, 1; Fehling 1974, 11; Harrison, in: *Fests. F. Brommer* (1977) 158, pl. 42, 2-3.

V314 Verona MC 51
Att. rf. stemless kylix. *ARV*² 1023/148: Phiale Ptr (450/425 B.C.)
I. Woman with kanoûn, pouring libation from oinochoe onto altar (Themis? See Beazley, *ARV*²). A. Theseus and the sow. B. Theseus and the bull.
Lit.: *CVA* pl. 2; Oakley 1990, nr. 148, pl. 124.

V315 Würzburg 474 **Fig. 37**
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 173/10: Ambrosios Ptr (525/500 B.C.)
I. Warrior. A. Altar (firewood, flames?); man holding kanoûn puts

something on altar; youth pouring libation from kantharos onto altar; from the left approach two youths with kylikes; on the far right older man (staff). Inscriptions: Καλίας, Λ̣υ[σίσ]τρατος, Ἀ[ντιλ?]έον, καὶ δεῦρ(ο). B. Dionysos on donkey, with satyrs and maenad.
Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 3-4; Langlotz 1932, nr. 474, pl. 143; Beazley, *AJA* 58 (1954) 189 f.; Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1959, pl. 31; Shapiro, *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 69, pl. 25 a.

V316 Art market
Att. rf. lekythos. (425/400 B.C.)
Column; woman sitting on rock, holding kalathos in right hand, kanoûn (?) on head (kanephóros?).
Lit.: MuM Basel, Sonderl. N (1971) nr. 41.

V317 Art market
Att. rf. calyx-krater. Pan Ptr (?) (475/450 B.C.)
A. Youth in himation, holding kylix (libation); on the left youth in loin-cloth with kanoûn, on the right youth in loin-cloth with oinochoe. B. Three youths.
Lit.: Ars Antiqua Luzern, Lagerkat. 4 (1969) nr. 41.

V318 Art market
Att. rf. pyxis lid. (425/450 B.C.)
Top: Winged horse galloping to the right; sun. Sides: between columns: (1) Eros running towards woman, who holds cup; (2) mirror above kalathos, woman; altar; woman running towards it holding kanoûn (three sprigs) and fillet.
Lit.: MuM Basel, Aukt. 16 (1956) nr. 138.

V319 Whereabouts unknown
Att. rf. neck-amphora (Nolan). Dresden Ptr (c. 470 B.C.)
Woman with kanoûn and oinochoe; youth pouring libation from phiale onto altar.
Lit.: Greifenhagen, *SBMünchen* 1976, nr. 3, p. 22 nr. 11 fig. 30.

V320 Athens NM 1420
Boiot. rf. kantharos. (425/400 B.C.)
A. Seated youth (kanoûn, phiale); youth (kanoûn, thyrsos). B. Seated youth (kanoûn); youth (kanoûn, phiale).
Lit.: Ure, *AJA* 62 (1958) 393, 19, pl. 104, 16.

V321 Carlsruhe B 157
Boiot. rf. skyphos. (425/400 B.C.)
A. Woman; woman holding kanoûn and oinochoe (?). B. Woman; woman holding phiale and torch (or staff?).
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 37, 6-7.

V322 Munich 3059
Boiot. rf. bell-krater. (425/400 B.C.)
A. Woman with kanoûn, bending over and holding torch close to the ground. B. Iris (kerykeion).
Lit.: Lullies, *AM* 65 (1940) 24, pl. 28, 1-2.

V323 Athens NM Per. 1951
Cor. plate (fr.). (600/575 B.C.)
Kanephóros (tray, handles attached to bottom); small dog (?); etc.
Lit.: *Perachora* II 194 nr. 1951, pl. 77.

V324 Baltimore 48.192
Cor. bottle. *CVP* I 229/A3: Skating Ptr (600/575 B.C.)
Frauenfest: kanephóros; etc.
Lit.: Jucker, *AntK* 6 (1963) 47-61, pl. 20, 1.

V325 Béziers 22
Cor. bottle. *CVP* I 229/A1: Beziers Frauenfest Ptr (600/575 B.C.)
Frauenfest: kanephóros; etc.
Lit.: Jucker, *AntK* 6 (1963) 47-61, pl. 17, 1, 3, 5, 6.

V326 Corinth T 132 **Fig. 15**
Cor. fr. (column-krater?). *CVP* I 200/B1, pl. 83, 2: Klyka Ptr, near - (600/575 B.C.)
Kanephóros (tray with handles attached to bottom); part of two other figures. Inscriptions: Καλιόπ̣[α], Δα[- -], [h]ι̣πόδι̣ϙος.
Lit.: Payne, *NC* 166 nr. 52, cat. 1451; Lorber 1979, 67 nr. 101, pl. 27.

V327 London BM 65.7-20.20
Cor. bottle. *CVP* I 230/A1: London Frauenfest Ptr (600/575 B.C.)
Frauenfest: kanephóros (tray, handles attached to bottom); etc.
Lit.: Payne, *NC* 314 nr. 1070; Jucker, *AntK* 6 (1963) 47-61, pl. 20, 2; Callipolitis-Feytmans, *BCH* 94 (1970) 45-65.

V328 Montpellier 127 (SA 197)
Cor. bottle. *CVP* I 230/A2: Béziers Frauenfest Ptr (600/575 B.C.)
Frauenfest. Zone I: kanephóros; auletrís; etc. Zone II: three kanephóroi; etc.
Lit.: Laurens 1974, 76 nr. 26.

V329 Philadelphia MS 552
Cor. amphora. *CVP* I 311/A2: Politis (Tripod) Ptr (600/575 B.C.)
Frauenfest: kanephóros (two trays of offerings, one above the other; handles attached to bottom of lower one); etc.
Lit.: Dohan, *AJA* 38 (1934) 523-6, pl. 32.

V330 Private collection
Cor. amphora. *CVP* I 311/A1: Politis (Tripod) Ptr (600/575 B.C.)
Frauenfest: Kanephóros (tray, handles attached to bottom); auletrís; etc.
Lit.: Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1989, 87-93 nr. 46, pl. 14.

V331 Trieste S 395
Apul. rf. bell-krater. *RVAp* I p. 148, 6/94: Dijon Ptr (375/350 B.C.)
A. Maenad (torch); satyr carrying líknon on head, containing phallos, sprig, etc., and holding kalathos in right hand; Dionysos (thyrsos, kantharos). B. Three youths.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 5, 1-3.

V332 New York MMA 06.1021.42
Camp. bf. amphora. (c. 450 B.C.)
Altar; from left figures with sprigs, auloi, kithara, hydria; figure at tree.
Lit.: Parise Badoni 1968, 60 nr. 6, pl. 29.

V333 Madrid 11091
Lucan. rf. bell-krater. *LCS* 119/598, pl. 60, 1: Choephoroi Ptr (360/350 B.C.)
A. Hermes; altar (blood); boy; youth holding kanoûn (tray); man (sceptre, sprig). B. Woman between two youths.
Lit.: Leroux 1912, nr. 232, pl. 33.

Mythical sacrifices

Athena

V334 Aberdeen Univ. 683
Att. bf. neck-amphora. *ABV* 289: Grp of Würzburg 199 (?) (c. 520 B.C.)
Athena and bull or cow. (B) Herakles shaking hands with Athena; Hermes; beyond Athena is a small bov. (cow?). (A) Theseus and Minotaur.
Lit.: *LIMC* V Herakles 3180; Durand 1986, 32 ff., fig. 9.

V335 Ferrara 14939
Att. bf. olpe. (500/475 B.C.)
Athena holding spits with splánchna (?) over flames (low altar?), and pouring libation from phiale.
Lit.: *CVA* 2, pl. 36, 1 and 3. *LIMC* II Athena 588.

V336 Munich 1527 (J 397)
Att. bf. neck-amphora. *ABV* 392/5: Nikoxenos Ptr (510/490 B.C.)
Athena and bull. A. Dionysos and Ariadne with satyrs. B. Facing right: Hermes and goddess; Athena and bov. (bull, stémmata); Dionysos and goddess.
Lit.: *CVA* 9, pl. 6, 6; 7, 2; 9, 1-2; Durand 1986, 35 fig. 10

V337 Orvieto Faina 27
Att. rf. neck-amphora. *ARV*^{2} 296/3: Troilos Ptr (c. 470 B.C.)
Athena and bull or cow. (A) Athena pouring libation from oinochoe into phiale held by Herakles; bov. (small bull, stémmata) at Athena's feet. B. Dionysos.
Lit.: Greifenhagen, *AA* 1978, 550-551 fig. 3-4; Durand 1986, 36 fig. 11; *LIMC* V Herakles 3167 (Boardman: cow; refs to other examples).

Eros

V338 London BM E 518
Att. rf. lekythos. *ARV*^{2} 736/117: Carlsruhe Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Eros carrying splánchna on spit.
Lit.: Durand & Lissarrague, *Hephaistos* 2 (1980) 102 fig. 20; *LIMC* III Eros 430.

V339 Brussels A 725
Att. rf. bell-krater. (4th century B.C.)
Eros holding fillet and flat kanoûn containing cakes, flies towards altar at herm; pinax above it.
Lit.: *CVA* 3, pl. 2; Metzger 1965, 83 nr. 20, pl. 31, 1; *LIMC* III Eros 462; *LIMC* V Hermes 111.

Herakles and Bousiris

V340 Cincinnati 1959.1
Att. bf. amphora. Paralip 134/23 ter: Swing Ptr (c. 540 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. (A) Altar; máchaira and kanoûn; máchaira.
Lit.: Böhr 1982, pl. 15 A; Durand & Lissarrague, in: *Image et céramique grecque* (1983) 158 fig. 5; Durand 1986, 113 fig. 31; *LIMC* III Bousiris 10.

V341 Athens NM 9683 **Fig. 49**
Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 554/82: Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. Blood-stained altar; sphageîon (or chérnips); mallet; kanoûn and máchaira; knife case; bundle of spits; trapeza; hydria.
Lit.: Beazley 1931, 12-13, pl. 7-10, 11, 1; Fuhrmann, *ÖJh* 39 (1952) 27-30; Durand & Lissarrague, in: *Image et céramique grecque* (1983) 156-7, fig. 3-4; Durand 1986, 108 fig. 26; *LIMC* III Bousiris 20.

V342 Athens NM 19568
Att. rf. column-krater. *ARV*² 517/7; 1658; Paralip 382: Cleveland Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris.
Lit.: Sotheby March 5, 1962, 35; Durand 1986, 115 fig. 35; *LIMC* III Bousiris 19.

V343 Berlin inv. 3239
Att. rf. kylix (fr.). *ARV*² 314/2: Eleusis Ptr (c. 500 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. I. Egyptian running holding cloth (?). A. Altar. B. Kanoûn.
Lit.: Brommer 1984, 43 fig. 19; *LIMC* III Bousiris 13.

V344 Bologna 174
Att. rf. stamnos. *ARV*² 593/43: Altamura Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. (A) Altar; kanoûn and máchaira; bundle of

spits and oinochoe.
Lit.: *CVA* 4, pl. 71, 5; 93; 94, 6-8; Durand & Lissarrague, in: *Image et céramique grecque* (1983) 160 fig. 8; *LIMC* I Aithiopes 15; *LIMC* III Bousiris 26.

V345 Boston MFA 10.188
Att. rf. column-krater (fr.). *ARV*² 574/10: Agrigento Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. (A) Trapeza.
Lit.: Durand 1986, 120 fig. 40; *LIMC* III Bousiris 24.

V346 Cerveteri
Att. rf. bell-krater. (c. 475 B.C. ?)
Herakles and Bousiris (?). (A) Kanoûn and oinochoe; tree.
Lit.: Moretti, *Cerveteri* (1983) fig. 85; *LIMC* III Bousiris 36.

V347 Ferrara T 499 VT **Fig. 53**
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 415/2: Dokimasia Ptr (500/470 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. I. Egyptian running with hydria and large skyphos (basin?); bundle of spits. B-A. Altar; podanipter; A. Tree; máchaira; knife case; hydria; bundle of spits; large flat basket (?). A-B. Large basin (sphageîon?) and bundle of spits. B. Hydria; broken pot; auletés.
Lit.: Felletti Maj, *RIA* 6 (1937) 207-225, fig. 1-3; Durand & Lissarrague, in: *Image et céramique grecque* (1983) 164-5 fig. 12; Brommer 1984, pl. 12-13; Durand 1986, 134 fig. 57; *LIMC* I Aithiopes 16; *LIMC* III Bousiris 16.

V348 Ferrara T 579 VT **Fig. 52**
Att. rf. volute-krater. *ARV*² 612/1: Ptr of Bologna 279 (475/450 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. (Neck A) Altar; chopping block; kitharaplayer; bundle of spits; kanoûn (sprigs) and bowl (chérnips?); máchaira (sword?); auletés; knife case.
Lit.: Felletti Maj, *RIA* 6 (1937) pl. 1; Alfieri & Arias 1958, pl. 43; *LIMC* III Bousiris 27.

V349 Leipsic T 651
Att. rf. fr. stamnos (?). *ARV*² 552/24: Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. A. Altar. B. Auletés; bundle of spits; podanipter.

Lit.: Hauser, *JdI* 11 (1896) 190-191 nr. 34; Follmann 1968, pl. 2, 2; *LIMC* III Bousiris 21.

V350 London BM E 38 **Fig. 50**

Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 72/16: Epiktetos (520/490 B.C.)

Herakles and Bousiris. (A) Altar; máchaira and kanoûn; auletés; oinochoe; kithara.

Lit.: *EAA* II 226 fig. 340; Schefold 1978, 134 fig. 172; Durand & Lissarrague, in: *Image et céramique grecque* (1983) 159 fig. 6; Brommer 1984, pl. 11 a; Williams, in: Brijder (ed.) 1984, 275-281, fig. 1; Durand 1986, 112 fig. 30; *LIMC* III Bousiris 11.

V351 Munich 2428 (J 342)

Att. rf. hydria. *ARV*² 297/13; 1643: Troilos Ptr (500/475 B.C.)

Herakles and Bousiris. Blood-stained altar; hydria; kanoûn; bundle of spits.

Lit.: *CVA* pl. 227, 4; 228, 4; 234, 4; FR pl. 73, 1; Felletti Maj, *RIA* 6 (1937) 213 fig. 6; Durand & Lissarrague, in: *Image et céramique grecque* (1983) 166 fig. 13; Brommer 1984, pl. 11 b; Durand 1986, 131 fig. 55; *LIMC* I Aithiopes 12; *LIMC* III Bousiris 15.

V352 New York MMA 15.27

Att. rf. column-krater. *ARV*² 574/9: Agrigento Ptr (475/450 B.C.)

Herakles and Bousiris. A. Altar; bundle of spits; máchaira; trapeza. B. hydria; kanoûn.

Lit.: Richter & Hall 1936, nr. 70, pl. 73, 170; Durand & Lissarrague, in: *Image et céramique grecque* (1983) 163 fig. 10; Durand 1986, 119 fig. 39; *LIMC* III Bousiris 23.

V353 Oxford AM 521 **Fig. 51**

Att. rf. stamnos. *ARV*² 216/5: Group of London E 311, near - (c. 470 B.C.)

Herakles and Bousiris. A/B. Blood-stained altar máchaira; kanoûn; jug (chérnips? or oinochoe: cf. Saint Petersburg 2227, *ARV*² 604/52); bundle of spits; bundle of spits.

Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 26; Durand & Lissarrague, in: *Image et céramique grecque* (1983) 161 fig. 9; Durand 1986, 114 fig. 32; *LIMC* I Aithiopes 14; *LIMC* III Bousiris 18.

V354 Oxford AM

Att. rf. fr. Pan Ptr (475/450 B.C.)

Herakles and Bousiris. Trapeza.
Lit.: Durand 1986, 120 fig. 41; *LIMC* III Bousiris 22.

V355 Paris CM 393 **Fig. 48**
Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 665/1: Ethiop Ptr (c. 450 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. (A) Egyptian leading Herakles by ropes tied to two arms and one leg.
Lit.: *EAA* III 466 fig. 560; *LIMC* I Aithiopes 18; *LIMC* III Bousiris 1.

V356 Paris Louvre G 50
Att. rf. hydria. *ARV*² 188/70: Kleophrades Ptr (500/475 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris (??)
Lit.: *CVA* pl. 52, 4-5; Felletti Maj, *RIA* 6 (1937) 212 fig. 5; *LIMC* III Bousiris 32.

V357 Paris Louvre Cp 12.154
Att. rf. kylix (fr.). (c. 500 B.C.?)
Herakles and Bousiris. (A) Altar; kanoûn; máchaira.
Lit.: Durand 1986, 115 fig. 34; *LIMC* III Bousiris 14.

V358 Reggio
Att. rf. hydria (fr.). *ARV*² 571/77 bis: Leningrad Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. Kanoûn and máchaira.
Lit.: Durand 1986, 110 fig. 28; *LIMC* III Bousiris 35.

V359 Rome VG 57912
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 72/24: Epiktetos (510/480 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. (B) Altar; máchaira; kanoûn; auletés.
Lit.: Schefold 1978, 134 fig. 173; Durand & Lissarrague, in: *Image et céramique grecque* (1983) 159 fig. 7; Williams, in: Brijder (ed.) 1984, 275-281, fig. 2; Durand 1986, 115 fig. 33; *LIMC* III Bousiris 12.

V360 Art market
Att. rf. calyx-krater. (c. 460 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. (A) Altar; kanoûn; trapeza.
Lit.: Sotheby July 1, 1969, nr. 93; Durand & Lissarrague, in: *Image et céramique grecque* (1983) 163 fig. 11; *LIMC* III Bousiris 25.

V361 Thessalonike 8.1
Ionian (?) bf. fr. (550/530 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. Altar; máchaira; bundle of spits.
Lit.: *Olynthus* V, 69 fig. 2, pl. 46, 23; *LIMC* III Bousiris 8.

V362 Vienna IV 3576
Caeretan hydria. (525/500 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. Altar etc.
Lit.: Hemelrijk 1984, 50 nr. 24, pl. 3, 118-125; *LIMC* III Bousiris 9.

V363 New York MMA 1984.11.7
Apul. rf. dinos. Darius Ptr (340/320 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. Altar in front of column. On left of altar Herakles, held by two Egyptians by ropes tied to his legs. Facing Herakles, on the other side of the altar, stands Bousiris holding a knife (máchaira). Approaching the altar from the right: youth carrying on his shoulder a three-legged chopping block in the edge of which two cleavers are set, another youth carrying on his head a very wide flat basket and in his right hand a long-handled fan (?; in left hand spit?), and a third one who carries a sort of trough on his shoulder filled with cakes (?), and a jug in his left hand. On the left, behind the two Egyptians restraining Herakles, a youth empties an amphora into a large kettle under which a fire has been kindled. Another youth brings a second amphora.
Lit.: *LIMC* III Bousiris 4.

V364 Naples MN 2558 (82276)
Lucan. rf. krater (fr.). *LCS* 115/595, pl. 59, 3: Brooklyn-Budapest Ptr (380/360 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. (A) Two Egyptians holding Herakles by ropes; Bousiris seated holding máchaira; woman carrying kanoûn on head (sprigs, jug, etc.) and oinochoe in hand; auletrís.
Lit.: Felletti Maj, *RIA* 6 (1937) 219 fig. 7; *LIMC* III Bousiris 7.

V365 New York MMA 58.13.1
Lucan. rf. calyx-krater (fr.). *LCS* 105/551, pl. 54: Dolon Ptr (near) (400/360 B.C.)
Herakles and Bousiris. (A) Altar; Egyptians holding Herakles by ropes.
Lit.: *LIMC* III Bousiris 6.

Herakles sacrificing to Chryse

V366 Ferrara

Att. rf. bell-krater (fr.). *ARV*² 1038/2 ter: Peleus Ptr (450/425 B.C.)
Herakles sacrificing to Chryse (?) Rustic altar; man (staff) dips hand into chérnips held by youth, who also holds kanoûn; man leading bov. (only horns survive); arm holding spear.
Lit.: Durand 1986, 128 fig. 50; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1353.

V367 London BM E 494 **Fig. 124**

Att. rf. bell-krater (fr.). *ARV*² 1079/3: Ptr of London E 494 (450/425 B.C.)
Herakles sacrificing to Chryse. Archaic statue of Chryse on column; osphûs on rustic altar (firewood, flames); tree (pinakes); two splanchnóptai; man (Herakles?); part of figure; Athena.
Lit.: *JHS* 9 (1888) pl. 1; Hooker, *JHS* 70 (1950) 36 fig. 1; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 329 fig. 11; Kron, *JdI* 86 (1971) 140 fig. 10; *LIMC* III Chryse I 1.

V368 Saint Petersburg KAB 33 A **Fig. 40**

Att. rf. fr. volute-krater. *ARV*² 1408/1: Ptr of the New York centauromachy (400/380 B.C.)
Herakles sacrificing to Chryse. Acanthus column and column supporting tripod; rustic altar (firewood) ; Lichas leading bov. from the right; Herakles holding stémma; youth holding chérnips and kanoûn (tray, three sprigs). Inscriptions: Λίχας, [Ἡρα]κλῆς.
Lit.: Hooker, *JHS* 70 (1950) 40 fig. 5; FR III p. 53 fig. 24; Froning 1971, pl. 15, 1; Immerwahr 1990, 118 nr. 820; *LIMC* III Chryse I 5.

V369 Saint Petersburg KAB 43 f **Fig. 39**

Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 1346/1: Kiev Ptr (410/400 B.C.)
Herakles sacrificing to Chryse. (A) Archaic statue of Chryse on column; rustic altar (firewood); Herakles holding twig with leaves; youth leading bov. (bull) from the left by rope tied to its horns; on the right youth holding chérnips and kanoûn; two youths (Apollo on the far right?); in the upper zone: Hermes, youth, Athena. B. Satyr and maenads.
Lit.: Schefold, *UKV* fig. 70-71; Hooker, *JHS* 70 (1950) 38 fig. 4; *LIMC* III Chryse I 4; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 236 fig. 14.

V370 Taranto 52399

Att. rf. calyx-krater (fr.). *ARV*² 1337/4: Pronomos Ptr, near - (410/400 B.C.)

Herakles sacrificing to Chryse. (A) Archaic statue of Chryse on column; rustic altar; part of chérnips (held by figure on the right); on the left Herakles, and youth restraining bov. (bull, "kneeling") by rope tied to horns; underneath altar kíste; parts of several other figures.

Lit.: Hooker, *JHS* 70 (1950) 38 fig. 3; Froning 1971, pl. 15, 2; *LIMC* III Chryse I 3; Durand, in: Bérard *et al.* (eds.) 1987, 237 fig. 15.

V371 Vienna IV 1144 **Fig. 38**

Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1188: Kadmos Ptr, manner of - (425/400 B.C.)

Herakles sacrificing to Chryse. Archaic statue of Chryse on column; rustic altar (small fire); on the left Herakles and Ioleos with bov. (stémmata); on the right Nike holding chérnips and kanoûn; boy taking lid off kíste. Inscriptions: Ἰόλεων, Ἡρακλῆς, Χρύση, Νίκη.

Lit.: *CVA* 3, pl. 118; Hooker, *JHS* 70 (1950) 35-41, fig. 2; *LIMC* III Chryse I 2.

Herakles (other)

V372 Hanover 1961.8

Att. bf. neck-amphora. (c. 500 B.C.)

Herakles and bull. Herakles leading bov. (bull); on the right bird.

Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 15.

V373 Rhodos 13485

Att. bf. oinochoe. *ABV* 437/1: Group of Rhodos 13485 (c. 500 B.C.)

Herakles and bull. Herakles tying fillet round neck (?) of bov. (bull).

Lit.: *Clara Rhodos* 4 (1931) 379 fig. 428; *CVA* 1, pl. 8, 2; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1334.

V374 Thebes

Att. bf. olpe. *ABV* 536/38: Ptr of Vatican G 49 (500/475 B.C.)

Herakles and bull. Herakles tying fillet round neck (?) of bov. (bull).

Lit.: *Hesperia* 11 (1942) pl. 3; Durand 1986, 164 fig. 74.

V375 Berlin F 1856

Att. bf. neck-amphora. *ABV* 370/130: Leagros Group (525/500 B.C.)
Herakles and bull. (A) Herakles driving bov. (bull, stémmata) towards altar (flames) and column. B. Athena and Giants.
Lit.: *CVA* 5, pl. 34, 35, 39; Hausmann 1959, pl. 47, 1; Bérard, *Ét. de Lettres Lausanne* 1983, nr. 4, 14 fig. 2; Durand 1986, 162 fig. 72; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1333.

V376 Brussels A 1582

Att. bf. pelike. *ABV* 608/3: Ptr of the Rhodes pelike (500/475 B.C.)
Herakles and bull. (A) Herakles leading bov. (bull). B. Dionysos and maenad.
Lit.: *CVA* 3, pl. 26, 6.

V377 ex Catania coll. Gemarelli

Att. bf. pelike. *ABV* 608 (c. 500 B.C.)
Herakles and bull. (A) Herakles leading bov. (bull). B. Apollo and goddess.
Lit.: Benndorf 1883, pl. 42, 3; Durand 1986, 165 fig. 77.

V378 Boston MFA 99.538

Att. bilingual amphora. *ABV* 255/6; *ARV*^{2} 4/12: Andokides Ptr (530/520 B.C.)
Herakles and bull. (A=B) Herakles driving bov. (bull, stémmata) to sacrifice, carrying bundle of spits and wineskins; tree.
Lit.: Pfuhl 1923, 266 and 316; Beazley 1951, pl. 34-35; Boardman 1974, fig. 164; Boardman 1975, fig. 8; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1332.

V379 Athens NM 12626

Att. bf. skyphos. (Late 6th c. B.C.)
Herakles at sacrifice. A. Judgement of Paris. B. Herm on the right; kanoûn on its base; Herakles stoops over the body of a ram, on its back, a knife in his hand to open its belly. Athena (?) stoops over its head.
Lit.: A.D. Ure, *JHS* 75 (1955) 92 nr. 10, pl. 7, 5; Durand 1986, 167 fig. 78.

V380 New York MMA 41.162.29 **Fig. 135**

Att. bf. lekythos. *ABV* 507: Sappho Ptr (500/475 B.C.)
Herakles at sacrifice. Osphûs on altar (flames); Herakles as splanchnóptes (2 spits); Nyx, Helios and Heos. Inscriptions: Νύκς, hÉλιος,

hÉος, hΕρακλῆς.
Lit.: *ABL* 226/6, pl. 32, 1; Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 331 fig. 16; Kron, *JdI* 86 (1971) 139 fig. 9; Pinney & Ridgway, *JHS* 101 (1981) 141-4; Immerwahr 1990, 156 nr. 1082; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1341.

V381 Berlin inv. 3232 **Fig. 134**
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*^{2} 117/2: Epidromos Ptr (525/500 B.C.)
Herakles at sacrifice. (I) Osphûs on altar (flames); Herakles (long priestly robe) pouring libation from kantahros onto altar, left hand raised in prayer; satyr as splanchnóptes. A. Satyr attacking sleeping maenad. B. Hermes; Herakles and Kerberos.
Lit.: Rizza, *ASAtene* 37-38 (1959-60) 332 fig. 17; Blatter, *HefteABern* 2 (1976) 6; Simon, in: *Fests. Robertson* (1982) 129, pl. 32 b; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1342.

V382 Kiel B 55 **Fig. 168**
Att. rf. oinochoe. Kadmos Ptr, circle of - (425/400 B.C.)
Herakles at sacrifice. Low altar (eschára) in front of laurel tree, on it skull of bov. (and another animal skull?); on the left youth with oinochoe; on the right man in long patterned robe (priest) pouring libation from kantharos; on the far right Herakles.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 40.

V383 Berlin (lost) F 3187
Apul. rf. bell-krater. *RVAp* I p. 24, 1/106: Ariadne Ptr (400/380 B.C.)
Herakles at sacrifice. (A) Hermes bringing a pig for sacrifice to Herakles in the presence of Athena. B. Youth and woman at altar.
Lit.: —

V384 London BM F 66 **Fig. 43**
Apul. rf. bell-krater. *RVAp* I p. 195, 8/18: Iliupersis Ptr (375/340 B.C.)
Herakles at sacrifice. (A) Altar (blood, small fire); Herakles holding knife; on the left Nike adorning bov. (bull) with wreath and stémma; on the right woman with kanoûn (tray, three sprigs) and oinochoe. Two horned skulls (one with stémma). B. Youth, athlete and woman.
Lit.: *Cat.* IV pl. 1; Schauenburg, *RM* 92 (1985) 48, pl. 40, 1; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1335.

V385 Gela
Sic. rf. skyphos. *LCS* Sup. 3, 274/46 c: Ptr of the Lugano pyxis (350/300 B.C.)
Herakles at sacrifice. (A) Old silen holding small pig above altar, to right of which stands Herakles holding kantharos; behind the altar a pillar and above it seven pinakes. B. Woman and satyr.
Lit.: Calderone, *ArchCl* 29 (1977) 267-276, pl. 56-57; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1339.

V386 Berlin F 1919
Att. bf. olpe. *ABV* 536/36: Ptr of Vatican G 49 (500/475)
Herakles holding meat on spit at altar.
Lit.: Durand 1986, 169 fig. 81.

V387 Gotha 44
Att. bf. olpe. *ABV* 537: Ptr of Vatican G 49 (near ?) (500/475)
Herakles holding meat on spit at altar.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 40, 5; Durand 1986, 169 fig. 82.

V388 London BM B 473
Att. bf. olpe. *ABV* 536/37: Ptr of Vatican G 49 (500/475)
Herakles holding meat on spit at altar.
Lit.: Durand 1986, 169 fig. 83; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1340.

V389 Paris Louvre F 121
Att. bf. kylix. *ABV* 231/7
Herakles holding meat on spit. B. Dionysos and Hermes.
Lit.: *CVA* pl. 106, 4; Durand, *DArch* N.S. 1 (1979) 30-31 fig. 11-12.

V390 Paris Louvre F 338
Att. bf. olpe. *ABV* 536/35: Ptr of Vatican G 49 (500/475)
Herakles holding meat on spit at altar.
Lit.: Pottier II pl. 85; Durand 1986, 169 fig. 84.

V391 Mount Holyoke 1925 BS II 3
Att. bf. skyphos. *ABV* 519 ad 18 (c. 500 B.C.)
Herakles. A=B. On the right Athena pouring from oinochoe into phiale held by Herakles, who is seated in the middle; on the left auletés; under each handle: goat.
Lit.: Buitron 1972, nr. 22.

Hermes

V392 Paris Louvre K 238
Paestan bell-krater. *RVP* 162/300, pl. 106 a-b: Python (350/340 B.C.)
Hermes leading goat to sacrifice; in his left hand he holds a kanoûn (more like a phiale) containing cakes; bust of satyr (or Dionysos?) (A). B. Seated woman with basket.
Lit.: FR III p. 373 fig. 178; *LIMC* V Hermes 819 bis.

V393 Vienna IV 3691
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 118/8: Epidromos Ptr (525/500 B.C.)
Hermes leading dog disguised as a pig to altar; sponge, strigilis and aryballos (I).
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 2, 4-6; *EAA* IV 5 fig. 6; Capdeville, *MEFRA* 83 (1971) 283 ff.; Schefold, *AntK* 17 (1974) 137 ff. pl. 40, 3; Blatter, *HefteABern* 2 (1976) 6; *LIMC* V Hermes 820.

Ikarios

V394 Malibu JPGM 81.AE.62
Att. rf. pelike (fr.). : Pan Ptr (480/470 B.C.)
Ikarios and Dionysos (Robertson). (A) Sacrifice of goat (? largely lost), knife poised to kill; on the left maenad and satyr at ivy-covered tree. B. Triptolemos between Demeter and Kore.
Lit.: Robertson, *Greek Vases Getty Mus.* 3 (1986) 71-90; *LIMC* V Ikarios I 10; Schwarz 1987, 40 V 66; Hayashi 1992, 141/57.

Iphigeneia

V395 Kiel B 538
Att. rf. oinochoe. : Shuvalov Ptr (c. 425 B.C.)
Iphigeneia in Aulis. Artemis (bow and quiver) holding young deer; bearded warrior holding sword at rustic altar (firewood?); Iphigeneia (fainting?) brought to altar by youthful warrior.
Lit.: *CVA* 1, pl. 39, 1-4; 40, 1-4; *LIMC* V Iphigeneia 1.

V396 Palermo 1886
Att. wgr. lekythos. *ARV*² 446/266: Douris (500/475 B.C.)
Iphigeneia in Aulis. Altar, at palm tree; Teukros holding sword, leads Iphigeneia towards it, who is followed by another warrior with sword in hand. Inscriptions: Ἰφιγένεια, [T]εῦκρο̣[ς], on altar: Ἀρ[τέ-

μιδος].
Lit.: Gabrici, *MonAnt* 32 (1927) pl. 94; Marconi 1932, pl. 57, 1-2; Kurtz 1975, pl. 10, 1; Schefold & Jung 1989, 150 fig. 132; *LIMC* V Iphigeneia 3.

V397 London BM F 159 **Fig. 117**
Apul. rf. volute-krater. *RVAp* I p. 204, 8/104: Iliupersis Ptr, assoc. with - (375/340 B.C.)
Iphigeneia in Aulis. Bearded man at altar holding knife over head of girl who is being replaced by a hind; on the left youth holding tray (sprigs) and oinochoe; woman on the left; and higher up: Apollo and Artemis; two horned skulls with stémmata above altar.
Lit.: FR III p. 165 fig. 80; Studniczka 1926, 51 fig. 34; Séchan 1926, 371 f. fig. 108; *LIMC* I Agamemnon 30; LIMC II Artemis 1373; *LIMC* V Iphigeneia 11.

V398 Ferrara T 1145
Att. rf. calyx-krater. *ARV*² 1440/1: Iphigeneia Ptr (400/375 B.C.)
Iphigeneia in Tauris. Shrine with archaic statue of Artemis and table in front of it; wreaths and fillets on back wall; Iphigeneia (temple key) holding letter; woman holding kanoûn and chérnips; Orstes and Pylades; Thoas and servant with fan; two horned skulls above.
Lit.: Trendall & Webster 1971, 91, III.3,27; *LIMC* II Artemis 1376; *LIMC* V Iphigeneia 19.

V399 Naples MN 3223 (82113)
Apul. rf. volute-krater. *RVAp* I p. 193, 8/3: Iliupersis Ptr (375/340 B.C.)
Iphigeneia in Tauris. Orestes seated on altar (blood), approached by Iphigeneia (temple key) and woman with oinochoe, who carries flat kanoûn (sprigs) on her head. On the left Pylades. Higher up Apollo and Artemis seated outside temple. Inscriptions: Πυλάδης, Ὀρέστας, Ἰφιγένεια.
Lit.: Trendall & Webster 1971, 92, III.3,28; FR pl. 148; *Ist. Ell. Ethn.* III 2, 395; *LIMC* II Artemis 1380; *LIMC* V Iphigeneia 18.

Iris

V400 Berlin F 2591 **Fig. 129**
Att. rf. cup-skyphos. *ARV*² 888/150: Penthesileia Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Iris. A. Iris carrying osphûs, attacked by satyrs. B. Dionysos and

satyrs.
Lit.: Brommer 1959, 26 fig. 18; *LIMC* V Iris I 113.

V401 Boston MFA 08.30 a
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 135: Nikosthenes Ptr, wider circle - (525/500 B.C.)
Iris. I. Love-making (satyr and woman). A. Ilioupersis (Aias and Kassandra; Aithra; 2 x warrior attacking woman). B. Altar (blood); Iris carrying osphûs, assaulted by satyrs.
Lit.: Brommer 1959, 26 fig. 17; *LIMC* Aias II 105; *LIMC* V Iris I 110.

V402 London BM E 65 **Fig. 128**
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*² 370/13: Brygos Ptr (500/475 B.C.)
Iris. I. Warrior seated (Χρύσιππος) holding phiale into which girl (Ζευχσό) ladles wine. A. Dionysos (Διόνυσος); altar; satyrs (Δρόμις, Ἔχον, Λῆφσις) attacking Iris (Ἶριν *sic!*) who carries osphûs. B. Satyrs (Τέρπον, Βάβακχος, hΥdρις, Στύον); Hermes (hΕρμῆς); Hera (hΕρα); Herakles (hΕρακλῆς). All names inscribed.
Lit.: FR pl. 47; Cambitoglou 1968, pl. IX; Wegner 1973, pl. 6-7, 16 b, 34 a, 38 a, 40 g; Boardman 1975, fig. 252; Schefold 1981, fig. 155-6; Simon, in: *Fests. Robertson* (1982) 126 f.; Immerwahr 1990, 88-89 nr. 551; *LIMC* III Dionysos 791; Dromis 1; Hera 327; Hermes 752; Hydris 1; *LIMC* V Iris I 111.

Nike

V403 Agrigento 2332
Att. rf. neck-amphora. *ARV*² 1193/2: Ptr of Munich 2332 (?) (450/425 B.C.)
Nike flying, with kanoûn; omphalos(-shaped altar?) (A). B. Komast.
Lit.: —

V404 Palermo MN V 745
Att. rf. neck-amphora. *ARV*² 530/14: Alkimachos Ptr (475/450 B.C.)
Nike flying, with large kanoûn (three sprigs) (A). B. Youth.
Lit.: *CVA* pl. 27, 2 and 28, 1-2; *AZ* 29 (1871) pl. 45, 33.

V405 Bonn 2666
Lucan. oinochoe. : Brooklyn Ptr, near - (?) (400/375 B.C.)
Nike leading sheep (ram with dog's tail?) towards altar; column with

fillet tied round it; woman with oinochoe.
Lit.: *Ant. Ak. Kunstmus. Bonn* (1971) nr. 221, fig. 102.

Odysseus

V406 Boston MFA 34.79
Att. rf. pelike. *ARV*² 1045/2: Lykaon Ptr (450/425 B.C.)
Odysseus at the entrance to the Underworld. (A) Two dead sheep, blood flowing from their cut throats; Odysseus seated holding sword; Elpenor rising up; Hermes. B. Poseidon and Amymone. Inscriptions: Ἐλπένορος, Ὀδυσεύς, Ηρμῆ.
Lit.: *LIMC* III Elpenor 6; *LIMC* VI Odysseus 149; Schefold & Jung 1989, 340 fig. 304; Immerwahr 1990, 111 nr. 766.

V407 Paris CM 422
Lucan. rf. calyx-krater. *LCS* 102/532: Dolon Ptr (c. 400 B.C.)
Odysseus at the entrance to the Underworld. (A) Two dead sheep; Odysseus seated holding sword; head of Teiresias rising up; two youths, on holding sword. B. Scene at fountain.
Lit.: FR 60 and 147; Trendall 1938, pl. 16; Schefold & Jung 1989, 341 fig. 305.

Oinomaos

V408 Naples MN 2200 **Fig. 42**
Att. rf. bell-krater. *ARV*² 1440/1: Oinomaos Ptr (400/375 B.C.)
Oinomaos sacrificing. Archaic statue of Artemis on column; altar (firewood, small fire), at which stand Oinomaos (Οἰνόμαος) and youth with kanoûn (three sprigs) and chérnips; youth leading sheep (ram) towards altar; on the right Pelops (Πέλοψ) and Hippodameia (Ἱπποδάμεα) fleeing in chariot; In upper zone: Myrtilos (Μυρτίλος) in chariot; Poseidon (Ποσειδῶν); Athena; Zeus (Ζεύς) and Ganymedes (Γανυμήδες); woman. Most names inscribed.
Lit.: FR 146; *EAA* V facing 628; Immerwahr 1990, 118 nr. 833; *LIMC* II Artemis 1441; *LIMC* V Hippodameia I 10.

V409 Saint Petersburg 4323
Apul. rf. volute-krater. *RVAp* II p. 487, 18/18, pl. 173: Darius Ptr (340/320 B.C.)
Oinomaos sacrificing. (A, above) Pelops and Hippodameia joining hands over altar (flames); Oinomaos; youth carrying sheep towards altar; Two horned skulls hanging above; On the left Aphrodite and

Eros, on the right Fury.
Lit.: Séchan 1926, 454 fig. 130; Roscher, *ML* III 777-778; *LIMC* II Aphrodite 1522; *LIMC* V Hippodameia I 13.

V410 Private collection
Apul. rf. volute-krater. *RVAp* II p. 866, 27/27, pl. 325: Baltimore Ptr (330/300 B.C.)
Oinomaos sacrificing. (A, above) youth with kanoûn leading ram towards altar; Oinomaos, Hippodameia and Pelops standing at altar; on the left Fury, on the right Nike.
Lit.: *LIMC* III Chrysippos I 4a; *LIMC* III Erinys 106a; *LIMC* V Hippodameia I 14.

Orestes

V411 Paris Louvre K 710
Apul. rf. bell-krater. *RVAp* I p. 97, 4/229: Eumenides Ptr (380/360 B.C.)
Orestes' purification. Apollo (laurel branch) holds a piglet over Orestes, who is seated, sword in hand, on an altar; on the right Artemis; on the left three Erinyes and woman (Klytaimnestra).
Lit.: FR 120, 4; Dyer, *JHS* 89 (1969) 51 nr. 1, pl. 2, 1; *LIMC* II Artemis 1382; *LIMC* III Erinys 63.

V412 Art market
Apul. rf. bell-krater. *RVAp* I p. 97, 4/230: Eumenides Ptr (380/360 B.C.)
Orestes' purification. Apollo (laurel branch) holding piglet over Orestes, who is seated, sword in hand, on an altar; omphalos and tripod; on the right Artemis; on the left priestess with temple key; two horned skulls with stémmata above.
Lit.: Dyer, *JHS* 89 (1969) 52 nr. 2, pl. 2, 2.

V412^{bis} Private collection Melbourne
Apul. rf. bell-krater (400/375)
Orestes' purification. Apollo (laurel branch) holding piglet; Orestes leaning on omphalos, sword in hand.
Lit.: Trendall, in: *Eumousia. Ceramic and iconographic studies in honour of A. Cambitoglou* (1990) 211-215; Knoepfler 1993, 75 nr. 56

V413 Paestum 4794
Paestan squat lekythos. RVP 109/142, pl. 62 a: Asteas (350/340 B.C.)
Orestes' purification. Apollon (laurel branch with fillet) holds piglet over Orestes who is seated, sword in hand, on an altar at a column; Artemis holds sprigs over him; on the left Lato on the right Manto and above the Erinyes Teisiphone and Megaira. Inscriptions: Λατώ, Ἀπόλλων, Ὀρέστης, Ἄρτεμις, Μαντώ, Τεισιφόνη, Μέγαιρα.
Lit.: Dyer, *JHS* 89 (1969) 52 nr. 6, pl. 4, 6; Trendall & Webster 1971, 49, III.1.12; *LIMC* III Erinys 64.

Patroklos' pyre

V414 Naples MN 3254
Apul. rf. volute-krater. *RVAp* II p. 495, 18/39: Darius Ptr (340/320 B.C.)
Patroklos' pyre. Achilles slaughtering Trojans at Patroklos' funeral.
Lit.: FR pl. 89; *Ist. Ell. Ethn.* III 2, 327 and 415.

Phrixos

V415 Berlin
Apul. rf. volute-krater. Darius Ptr (?) (340/320 B.C.)
Phrixos, about to be sacrificed by Athamas, but saved by the ram.
Lit.: L. Giuliani, *Ein Komplex apulischer Grabvasen, Berliner Museen* 1 (1985) 85; Schefold & Jung 1989, 16 fig. 1.

V416 Berlin F 3144
Lucan. nestoris. *LCS* 123/625: Choephoroi Ptr (360/340 B.C.)
Phrixos (?) sacrificing ram (shoulder).
Lit.: Bock, *AA* 1935, 508 fig. 4.

V417 Cambridge, Ma., Fogg 1960.367
Lucan. nestoris. *LCS* 125/644, pl. 62: Choephoroi Ptr (?) (360/330 B.C.)
Phrixos sacrificing ram (shoulder).
Lit.: Bock, *AA* 1935, 493-511, fig. 1; *The Art of South Italy* (Cat. exp. Richmond 1982) 71 nr. 10.

V418 Naples MN 1988 (82109)
Lucan. nestoris. *LCS* 123/628: Choephoroi Ptr (360/340 B.C.)

Phrixos (?) sacrificing ram (shoulder).
Lit.: Bock, *AA* 1935, 508 fig. 6.

V419 Naples MN 2858 (81841)
Lucan. hydria. *LCS* 120/600: Choephoroi Ptr (360/340 B.C.)
Phrixos (?) sacrificing ram (shoulder).
Lit.: Schauenburg, *RhM* 101 (1958) 41-50, fig. 5; *EAA* II 738 fig. 982.

Polyxena

V420 Boston MFA 6.67
Att. MPA I fr. krater (675/650 B.C.)
Polyxena (?). Feet of woman being lifted up horizontally by men.
Lit.: Vermeule & Chapman, *AJA* 75 (1971) 285 ff. pl. 69-71.

V421 Berlin F 1902
Att. bf. hydria. *ABV* 363/37: Leagros Group (525/500 B.C.)
Polyxena. Tymbos (snake; eidolon); warrior leading woman towards it; warriors and horses.
Lit.: *JdI* 29 (1914) 225 fig. 18; Vermeule, *BMusFA* 63 (1965) 38 fig. 6.

V422 London BM 97.7-27.2 **Fig. 118**
Att. bf. "Tyrrhenian" amphora. *ABV* 97/27: Tyrrhenian Group (575/550 B.C.)
Polyxena. (A) Low omphalos-shaped altar (firewood, flames); Polyxena is held over it by Amphilochos, Antiphates and Aias (O)iliades; Neoptolemos cuts her throat (blood flows onto the altar); on the left Nestor Pylios; on the right Phoinix. All names inscribed: Νέστορ Πύλιος, Διομέδες, Νεοπτόλεμος, Πολυσχένε, Ἀνφίλοχος, Ἀντιφάτες, Αἴας <Ὁ>ιλιάδες, Φοῖνιχς(ι). B. Komos.
Lit.: *JHS* 18 (1898) pl. 15; Immerwahr 1990, 41 nr. 175.

V423 New York MMA L. 1983.71.4
Att. bf. lekythos. (c. 500 B.C.)
Polyxena. Tymbos (snake, eidolon); from either side warrior leading woman towards it.
Lit.: —

V424 Paris Louvre G 153
Att. rf. kylix. *ARV*^{2} 460/14: Makron (500/475 B.C.)

Polyxena. (A-B) Tymbos; Neoptolemos ([Νεοπτόλε]μος), sword in hand, leading Polyxena ([Π]ολοχσένε) towards it, followed by several Greeks, among whom Philoktetes with bandage round calf. I. Achilles reclining, holding knife and meat; Hektor's body under table.
Lit.: Beazley, *BABesch* 29 (1954) 12-15; *LIMC* I Agamemnon 84; *LIMC* I Akamas et Demophon 12.

V425 Leiden RMO I 1896/12.1
Clazom. sarcophagus. Cook 1981, 36 nr. G 8: Albertinum Ptr (500/470 B.C.)
Polyxena. Tymbos; warrior holding drawn sword leads woman towards it; warriors.
Lit.: Brants, *JdI* 28 (1913) 58 ff. pl. 3; Hauser, *ibid.* 274-6.

V426 London BM B 70
Camp. bf. neck-amphora. (c. 450 B.C.)
Polyxena. Warrior lifting up woman and holding her over altar; other warrior holds sword ready to cut her throat; mourning women.
Lit.: Parise-Badoni 1968, 60 nr. 5, pl. 28.

Proitidai (?) **Fig. 1**

V427 Syracuse 47038
Sic. rf. calyx-krater. *LCS* 602/102, pl. 236, 1-2 (350/325 B.C.)
Proitidai (?) A. Scene of purification: piglet being killed over head of naked woman (perhaps Melampous and the daughters of Proitos). B. Three maenads and three satyrs.
Lit.: Libertini, *BdA* 35 (1950) 97-107, fig. 1-10; Langlotz 1963, 24 fig. 10; Simon, *AntK* 25 (1982) 36 nt 14; *LIMC* IV Hera 490; *LIMC* VI Melampous 5.

Satyrs

V427^{bis} Delphi
Att. bf. oinochoe. (500/475 B.C.)
Satyr holding spits with splánchna (?) in fire on altar; indication of cave-ceiling (?) above.
Lit.: *ADelt* 18 (1963) B', 130, pl. 167; *BCH* 89 (1965) 780 fig. 4. See Bérard, in: *Mélanges d'Histoire Ancienne et d'Archéologie offerts à Paul Collart* (1976) 61-73.

V428 Castelvetrano
Att. rf. column-krater. *ARV*² 1642: Flying-angel Ptr, by/recalls - (500/475 B.C.)
Satyrs sacrificing. A. Satyr with kithara and kantharos, into which another satyr (red pellets in left hand) pours from oinochoe. B. Satyr with oinochoe and bowl; satyr with kanoûn.
Lit.: Brommer 1959, 62-3 fig. 61-2; Beazley 1931, 22/17.

V429 London BM E 505
Apul. rf. bell-krater. *RVAp* I p. 78, 4/88: Eton-Nika Ptr (380/360 B.C.)
Satyr holding two spits (?) over altar at columns supporting statue of Herakles; woman with oinochoe and kanoûn containing cakes; thyrsos; wineskin hanging from tree, krater; horned skull above.
Lit.: *Cat.* III pl. 17; Woodford, *AJA* 80 (1976) 291-4, pl. 55, 5; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1097

V430 Art market
Lucan. bell-krater. (425/400 B.C.)
Satyr with kanoûn; woman crowning herm; altar.
Lit.: *AntK* 22 (1979) Heft 1, p. V.

Theseus

V431 Potenza Sopr. Basilicata 51534 **Fig. 41**
Att. rf. fr. krater. (410/400 B.C.)
Theseus sacrificing. Standing at altar: Theseus ([Θεσ]εύς) and young Peirithoos (Περίθοο[ς]) holding large kanoûn (three sprigs) and chérnips; Eros hovering in front of Theseus; from the left youth leading (sacrificial animal: lost); on the right Leda ([Λ]ήδα) and Helen (Ἑλέ[να]) being wreathed by Eros (Ἔρως); underneath hydria and boy at kíste; horned skull over altar. Most names inscribed.
Lit.: Greco, *RIA* S. III, 8-9 (1985-86) 5-35; *LIMC* VI Leda 34.

CATALOGUE II: VOTIVE RELIEFS

Asklepios

R1 **Athens Akr 2410**
From: Athens, Asklepieion (?).
Fragment, broken top, left and right. Height: 30 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
The gods on the left are lost except for part of a snake. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and child, foot of another one; servant with kanoûn, pig.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 188.

R2 **Athens Akr 2501**
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Upper part missing. Height: 26 cm.
Date: Roman?
Asklepios seated on the right. Altar and thymiaterion (?). Pig.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 102.

R3 **Athens Akr 2559+3264**
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Surface much worn, corners missing. Height: 26 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios seated on the left. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and child; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 106; Hausmann 1948, 174 nr. 104.

R4 **Athens Akr 4718**
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Fragment, broken top, left and right. Height: 31 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C. (?)
Asklepios seated on the right (largely lost). Altar. Worshippers: only part of servant with sheep preserved.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 101; Hausmann 1948, 175 nr. 117.

R5 **Athens Akr 4738**
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Amphiglyphon; only fragments of left/right part. Height: 32.5 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.

(A) The gods on the right are missing. Altar. Worshippers: two men and a woman; servant leading pig. (B) The gods on the left are missing. Altar. Worshippers: two men and a woman; servant with kanoûn, leading pig; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 315; Hausmann 1948, 181 nr. 176.

R6 **Athens NM 1330** **Fig. 62**
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Right part missing. Height: 62 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios seated on the left (snake under throne); Hygieia leaning against votive disk on pillar. Altar. Worshippers: man and arm of another figure; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 245, pl. 35, 2; *Einzelaufnahmen* 1228; Süsserott 1938, 123, pl. 25, 3; Hausmann 1948, 178 nr. 144, pl. 9; Palagia, *Hesperia* 51 (1982) pl. 34 a; *LIMC* II Asklepios 63.

R7 **Athens NM 1331**
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Middle part missing. Height: 67 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios and Hygieia standing on the left. Altar. Worshippers: two men and a woman; servant holding bov. by horn; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 246, pl. 36, 1; *Einzelaufnahmen* 1222; Süsserott 1938, 118, pl. 21, 3; Hausmann 1948, 167 nr. 16; *LIMC* II Asklepios 386; Güntner 1994, 138 C 8, pl. 18, 1.

R8 **Athens NM 1333** **Fig. 59**
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Left part and top right corner missing. Height: 83 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios seated on the left and Hygieia standing, leaning against tree. Altar (fire). Worshippers: man, woman, girl, man, little girl; servant with bowl instead of kanoûn, leading sheep; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 252, pl. 36, 3; *Einzelaufnahmen* 1230; Süsserott 1938, 119, pl. 22, 1; Hausmann 1948, 177 nr. 142, pl. 6; Neumann 1979, 53, pl. 30 a and 45 b; *LIMC* II Asklepios 66.

R9 **Athens NM 1334** **Fig. 64**

From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Surface damaged. Height: 60 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios (snake coiled round staff) and Hygieia standing on the left. Altar. Worshippers: man putting something on the altar (or pouring a libation from a phiale?), two children; servant leading pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 254, pl. 38; *Einzelaufnahmen* 1224; Hausmann 1948, 167 nr. 17; *LIMC* II Asklepios 338.

R10 **Athens NM 1335** **Fig. 70**

From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Left part missing. Height: 57 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios seated on the right and Hygieia standing, leaning against a tree round which a snake is coiled. Table loaded with cakes. Worshippers: man taking something from kanoûn held by servant, man touching table; no animal.
Inscription on epistyle: [- - -]ς Νικίας Μνησίμαχος
Ὀῆθεν Ἀχαρνεύς.
Lit.: Svoronos 254, pl. 36; Süsserott 93; Hausmann 1948, 178 nr. 145; Travlos 1971, 137; Neumann 1979, 54, pl. 45 a; Palagia, *Hesperia* 51 (1982) pl. 31 c; *LIMC* II Asklepios 96; Güntner 1994, 139 C 15, pl. 19, 1; *IG* II² 4402.

R11 **Athens NM 1345**

From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Middle part missing. Height: 49 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios (snake coiled round staff) and Hygieia standing on the left. (Altar and animal lost in the middle?). Worshippers: four men, a woman and two children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 264, pl. 35; Holländer 1912, 108 fig. 46; Süsserott 1938, 119; Hausmann 1948, 167 nr. 15; Hausmann 1960, 69, fig. 40; Neumann 1979, 53, pl. 44 a; *LIMC* II Asklepios 344; Güntner 1994, 137 C 6, pl. 17, 2.

R12 **Athens NM 1346**

From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Right part missing. Height: 48 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: Early 4th cent. B.C.

Asklepios and two daughters standing on the left. Table on which some cakes are visible. No animal preserved.
Lit.: Svoronos 264, pl. 35; *Einzelaufnahmen* 1221; Holländer 1912, 110 fig. 47; Süsserott 1938, 110, pl. 17, 3; Hausmann 1948, 172 nr. 79; Güntner 1994, 140 C 25, pl. 20, 1.

R13 Athens NM 1362
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Left and right parts missing. Height: 61 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios seated on the left, his two sons standing, and foot of a fourth deity. Altar. Worshippers: man and arm of another figure, two children; servant leading sheep.
Lit.: Svoronos 282, pl. 40; Hausmann 1948, 178 nr. 149.

R14 Athens NM 1368
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Fragment broken top, left and right. Height: 64 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
On the left only partly preserved: Epione seated with box on her lap, and Hygieia (?) standing, holding phiale. Traces of thymiaterion (?). Worshippers: two men, a woman and a little girl (the man on the left may be putting something in the phiale held by the goddess).
Lit.: Svoronos 287, pl. 45, 3; *Einzelaufnahmen* 1233; Hausmann 1948, 176 nr. 124.

R15 Athens NM 1370
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Lower left part missing. Height: 53 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios' two sons partly preserved on the left. Altar. Worshippers: man [and ?]; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 289, pl. 47; Süsserott 119; Hausmann 1948, 173 nr. 89.

R16 Athens NM 1372
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Top and left parts missing. Height: 43 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios' two sons, and part of another deity, standing on the left. Altar. Worshippers: two women (the one on the left puts something

on the altar); no animal.
Lit.: Svoronos 290, pl. 35; Hausmann 1948, 179 nr. 153.

R17 Athens NM 1374
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Middle part missing. Height: 46 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios (largely lost) and Hygieia standing on the left. [Altar?]. Worshippers: man, woman and little girl, woman, man and child; servant leading pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 292 pl. 37, 1; *Einzelaufnahmen* 1223; Hausmann 1948, 168 nr. 21.

R18 Athens NM 1377 **Fig. 67**
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Height: 50-65 cm. Relief with naiskos attached on the left; architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios (snake coiled round staff) and Hygieia standing, and Epione (goose under chair) seated, in naiskos on the left. Worshippers: four couples, the two rear ones with a child each; servant with kanoûn, leading pig; maid carrying kíste. On the right end of the relief a herm, and on the left, on the back of the naiskos, Hekate.
Lit.: Svoronos 294, pl. 48; Hausmann 1948, 167 nr. 11; Holländer 1912, 116 fig. 51; Kroll, *AJA* 83 (1979) 350, pl. 56, 2; Neumann 1979, 51, pl. 29; Ridgway, in: Moon (ed.) 1983, 193-208, fig. 13.4; *LIMC* II Asklepios 201.

R19 Athens NM 1402 **Fig. 66**
From: Kynouria (presumably brought there from the Athenian Asklepieion).
Height: 51 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios (snake coiled round staff) with Hygieia, two sons and three daughters, all standing on the right. Worshippers: two men and a woman with two children, female servant holding small box; maid carrying kíste; pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 351, pl. 35; Süsserott 114; Hausmann 166 nr. 6; Karusu, *RM* 76 (1969) 263 ff.; Karusu, in: *Studies P.H. von Blanckenhagen* (1979) 111-116; Faklares 1990, 96-104 and 192-193; *LIMC* II Asklepios 248; Güntner 1994, 143 C 38, pl. 22, 2.

R20 Athens NM 2401

From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Fragment lower right corner. Height: 37 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
On the left the gods are lost. Altar. Worshippers: four adults with two children; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 640, pl. 147; Hausmann 1948, 181 nr. 174.

R21 Athens NM 2418

From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Top part missing, surface much battered. Height: 42 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios and one goddess seated, his sons and daughters standing, on the left. Altar. Worshippers (largely lost); servant leading animal (unidentifiable).
Lit.: Svoronos 641, pl. 149; Hausmann 1948, 176 nr. 123.

R22 Cassel Staatl. Kunstslg. SK 44

From: Athens, Asklepieion (?).
Top and left part missing. Height: 28.5 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios seated at the head of a patient lying on a couch (largely lost). Worshippers approaching from the right: man, woman and two children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Bieber, *AM* 35 (1910) pl. I 2; Bieber 1915, 37 nr. 75, pl. 33; Hausmann 1948, 174 nr. 109; Krug 1985, 151, fig. 67; *LIMC* II Asklepios 89.

R23 Paris Louvre 755 **Fig. 63**

From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Height: 49 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: Late 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios seated on the left, and Hygieia standing, leaning against votive disk on pillar. Altar. Worshippers: man putting something on the altar, servant holding kanoûn, two women and a child, woman holding a small child on her arm; servant holding bov.
Lit.: Süsserott 123, pl. 25, 4; Hausmann 1948, 178 nr. 146; Charbonneaux 1963, 119; Neumann 1979, 54, pl. 44 b; Palagia, *Hesperia* 51 (1982) pl. 34 c; *LIMC* II Asklepios 64; Güntner 1994, 139 C 19, pl. 19, 2.

R24 Whereabouts unknown
From: Athens, Asklepieion.
Fragment lower left corner. Height: ? cm.
Date: ?
Slight remains of female worshipper and servant leading sheep.
Lit.: Von Sybel 1881, nr. 4495.

R25 Athens Agora S 800
From: Athens, Agora.
Left fragment. Height: 33 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios and Hygieia standing on the left. Altar. Worshippers (mostly lost): servant with kanoûn, pig.
Lit.: Mitropoulou 1968, 406 nr. 239.

R26 Athens NM 2681
From: Athens.
Left part missing. Height: 34 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios (?) seated on the left. Altar. Worshippers: three men, a woman and a child; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 571, pl. 93; *Einzelaufnahmen* 5095.

R27 Athens NM 1407 **Fig. 61**
From: Piraeus, Asklepieion (?).
Top left corner damaged. Height: 24 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios standing on the right, beside a huge snake. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman, child, man (?); servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Svoronos 356, pl. 65; Hausmann 1948, 169 nr. 33; *LIMC* II Asklepios 202.

R28 Athens NM 1429 **Fig. 65**
From: Piraeus, Asklepieion (?).
Left part missing. Height: 55 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
On the left the gods are missing. Altar. Worshippers: two men (the one on the left puts something on the altar), man and girl, two couples; servant holding bov.; maid carrying kíste.

Lit.: Svoronos 434, pl. 37; Holländer 1912, 107 fig. 45; Hausmann 1948, 181 nr. 179.

R29 Athens NM 3304
From: Piraeus, Asklepieion.
Middle fragment. Height: 30 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
The gods on the left are lost. Altar. Worshippers: man carrying a child on his arm, arm of another figure; bov.
Lit.: Karouzou 1968, 148.

R30 Whereabouts unknown **Fig. 68**
From: Piraeus, Asklepieion (?).
Height: ? cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C. (?)
Asklepios, a woman and a goddess standing by a patient lying on a couch, on the right. Worshippers: four adults; servant leading pig.
Lit.: Ziehen, *AM* 17 (1892) 234 fig. 5; Hausmann 1948, 170 nr. 53.

R31 Oxford AM
From: Attika (?).
Right part missing. Height: 66 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Of the gods on the right only one arm of Hygieia (?) is preserved. Worshippers: man, two women, three girls and a boy of different sizes; servant leading pig; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Michaelis 1882, 587 nr. 203.

R32 Palermo
From: Attika (?).
Middle fragment. Height: ? cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Of the gods on the left only Hygieia (?) is partly preserved. Altar. Worshippers: man and arm of another figure; servant with kanoûn. pig.
Lit.: *Einzelaufnahmen* 561.

R33 Whereabouts unknown **Fig. 58**
From: Epidauros, Asklepieion.
Height: 37 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.

Asklepios (snake coiled round staff) and Hygieia standing on the right. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and child; servant with kanoûn, leading pig; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Le Bas, mon. fig. 104; Vente A. Mak, Amsterdam, 28-29 April 1925, nr. 579; Hausmann 1948, 168 nr. 22.

R34 Patrai 208 **Fig. 71**
From: Patrai, Asklepieion (?).
Height: 52 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Asklepios (snake coiled round staff) with Hygieia and his two sons standing on the left. Altar. Worshippers: man (putting something on the altar), two women and three children; pig; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Milchhöfer, *AM* 4 (1879) 126; *Einzelaufnahmen* 1306; Hausmann 1948, 167 nr. 19 a, pl. 4; Kolonas, *ADelt* 43 (1988) 147, pl. 82 b.

R35 Berlin 685 **Fig. 69**
From: ?
Height: 37 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent B.C.
Asklepios seated (snake under throne) and Hygieia standing on the left. Worshippers: man and woman with four children; maid carrying kíste; no animal.
Lit.: Blümel 1966, 84 nr. 100, fig. 125; Hausmann 1948, 177 nr. 139, pl. 11.

Other healing gods: Amynos, Amphiaraos

R36 Athens NM mag.
From: Athens, Amyneion.
Bottom right corner fragment. Height: 18.5 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Only two worshippers (woman and man), and servant leading sheep, are partly preserved.
Lit.: Körte, *AM* 18 (1893) 240 nr. 3; Travlos 1971, 78 fig. 101.

R37 Athens NM 1395 **Fig. 72**
From: Oropos, Amphiareion.
Right part missing. Height: 50 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
On the right the gods are missing. Worshippers: man, woman and

child; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep and pig; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 346, pl. 59; Hausmann 1948, 181 nr. 180; Petrakos 1968, 123 nr. 20, pl. 41 a.

R38 Oropos (?)
From: Oropos, Amphiareion.
Right fragment. Height: 21.5 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Only the worshippers are partly preserved: man, woman and child; servant with kanoûn (animal lost).
Lit.: Petrakos 1968, 123 nr. 25, pl. 43 a.

R39 Athens NM 1384 **Fig. 73**
From: Rhamnous, Amphiareion.
Left part missing. Height: 54 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
On the left the gods are missing. In the background: pillar supporting a votive plaque. Worshippers: man, taking something from a kanoûn held by a servant, woman, three children; pig; maid carrying kíste.
Inscription on epistyle: Βοίδιον Ἱπποκράτης Εὐάγγ<ε>λος Αἰσχύλος.
Lit.: Svoronos 329, pl. 39; *Einzelaufnahmen* 1240; Hausmann 1948, 181 nr. 181; Petrakos, *Prakt* 1976, 57 nr. 34; *IG* II^2 4426.

R40 Athens NM 2333
From: Rhamnous.
Bottom left corner fragment. Height: 20 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Amphiaraos (snake coiled round staff) and Hygieia (?) standing on the left (upper parts lost). Altar. Worshippers: only part of the kanoûn remains.
Lit.: Svoronos 635, pl. 139; Hausmann 1948, 167 nr. 18 (provenance incorrect); Petrakos, *Prakt* 1976, 57 nr. 36.

Zeus (Meilichios, Philios, etc.)

R41 Athens EpM 8738 **Fig. 74**
From: Athens, north slope Hill of the Nymphs.
Bottom left corner fragment, with supporting pillar attached. Height: 52 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 324/3 B.C.

Zeus Philios seated on the left (bird beside throne). Altar. Pig (worshippers lost). Inscription on pilar:

Ἐραν<ι>σταὶ Διὶ
Φιλίωι ἀνέ-
θεσαν ἐφ' Ἡ-
γησίου ἄρχον-
τος.

Lit.: Svoronos 668, pl. 219; Walter, *ÖJh* 13 (1910) Bbl. 234 fig. 143; Mitropoulou, *Snakes* (1977) 99 fig. 39; *IG* II² 2935.

R42 Athens NM 2383

From: Athens.
Bottom left corner fragment. Height: 27.5 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus seated on the left (bird beside throne). Altar. Sheep and kanoûn partly preserved (worshippers lost).
Lit.: Svoronos 638, pl. 143; Walter, *ÖJh* 13 (1910) Bbl. 232 fig. 142; Mitropoulou, *Snakes* (1977) 107 fig. 45.

R43 Athens NM 2390

From: Athens.
Right part missing. Height: 39 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus seated on the left. Altar. Servant leading bov. and two goats (rest of worshippers lost).
Lit.: Svoronos 636, pl. 140.

R44 Piraeus 3 **Fig. 75**

From: Piraeus.
Height: 36 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus Meilichios seated on the left, holding cornucopia. Altar. Worshippers: Man and woman with three children; servant with kanoûn, pig; maid carrying kíste. Inscription on epistyle: [Κριτ]οβόλη Διὶ Μιλιχίω[ι].
Lit.: *AEphem* 1886, 49 fig. 1; Cook II 2, 1106 fig. 934; Nilsson 1967, 413, pl. 28, 1; Despinis, *ADelt* 20 (1965) 135, pl. 63; Mitropoulou, *AAA* 8 (1975) 120 nr. 3, fig. 3: *IG* II² 4569.

R45 Athens NM 1408 **Fig. 76**

From: Piraeus (?).
Height: 25 cm. Architectural frame.

Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus seated on the left. Worshippers: two women (the one on the left kneeling), two children; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 357, pl. 65; Walter, *ÖJh* 13 (1910) Bbl. 233.

R46 Eleusis 5126
From: Eleusis (?).
Left fragment. Height: 22 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus seated on the left (bird beside throne). Altar (largely lost). Worshippers: only part of kanoûn and one arm of servant holding it remain.
Lit.: Mitropoulou, *Snakes* (1977) 106 fig. 46.

R47 Rhamnous 102
From: Rhamnous.
Top part missing. Height: 18 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus seated on the left (bird beside throne, thunderbolt at his feet). Altar (firewood and osphûs?). Worshippers: man, woman and three children.
Lit.: Petrakos, *Prakt* 1979, 2, pl. 3 b.

R48 Athens NM 1433
From: Attika (?).
Bottom left and right corner missing. Height: 20 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus seated on the left. Altar. Worshippers: woman kneeling, four more adults and one child; servant with kanoûn (?), leading sheep.
Lit.: Svoronos 438, pl. 45; *Einzelaufnahmen* 1246; Walter, *ÖJh* 13 (1910) Bbl. 233.

R49 Sikyon
From: Sikyon.
Height: ? cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus seated on the left. Worshippers: man, woman and child; sheep.
Lit.: *Prakt* 1952.

R50 Dresden 2602
From: ?
Right part missing. Height: 43 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus seated on the left. Worshippers: woman kneeling, man; servant holding kanoûn with something on it, and leading sheep.
Lit.: Protzmann 1989, 38 nr. 18; Mitropoulou, *Kneeling* (1975) 33 nr. 8, fig. 9.

R51 Newcastle-upon-Tyne (ex London Wellcome Inst. R 3130/1936)
From: ?
Bottom left corner fragment. Height: 15 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus seated on the left (bird beside throne). Altar. Worshippers lost; sheep.
Lit.: Vermeule & von Bothmer, *AJA* 63 (1959) 334 (description inaccurate).

R52 Venice MC 80
From: ?
Height: 23 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus seated on the left, holding cornucopia. Worshippers: man, woman, two men, and two children. Between the god and the worshippers part of a small figure: servant (? altar and animal chiselled away?).
Lit.: Traversari 1973, 34; *Einzelaufnahmen* 2663.

R53 Verona MM
From: ?
Right part missing. Height: 52 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus seated on the left. Altar. Worshippers: lost, except part of servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Ritti 1981, nr. 22; Dütschke IV 246 nr. 559.

R54 Vicenza MC EI-54
From: ?
Height: 39 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Zeus seated on the left. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and child;

servant with kanoûn, leading sheep; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Galliazzo 1976, 42 nr. 9; Dütschke V (1882) 20 nr. 51.

R55 Vienna I 1096 **Fig. 77**

From: ?
Height: 33 cm.
Date: 4th cent B.C.
Zeus seated on the left (snake beside throne). Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; maid carrying kíste; no animal.
Lit.: Dütschke V (1882) nr. 688 (Catajo).

R56 Delphi 1202

From: Delphi.
Left part missing. Height: 64.5 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 350/300 B.C.
Zeus (largely lost) seated on the left, Athena standing. Altar. Worshippers: man and woman; servant leading two sheep.
Inscription on epistyle: [Διὶ Σωτῆρι κ]αὶ Ἀθάναι Σωτείραι Κλευμένης ἀνέθηκε.
Lit.: Zagdoun 1977, 31 nr. 7.

R57 Thebes 154 **Fig. 78**

From: Thespiai.
Height: 108 cm.
Date: 4th/3rd cent. B.C.
Pillar with reliefs on front: bucranium with fillets; left side: boar's mandible; right side: boar's skull.
Inscription under bucranium:

τοὶ σύσ[σιτ]οι Διὶ
Καραιοῖ ἀνέθεαν
Πούθων
Σόλων
Ἠνεσίδαμος
Δαμοτέλες
Διονύσιος
Μένες
Ἀντιφάων
Ἀρίστανδρος.

Lit.: Demakopoulou & Konsola 1981, 79; De Ridder, *BCH* 46 (1922) 261 nr. 88, fig. 37 (description inaccurate); Plassart, *BCH* 50 (1926) 399 nr. 17.

Athena

R58 Athens Akr 581 **Fig. 79**

From: Athens, Akropolis.
Top right part missing. Height: 66.5 cm.
Date: 500/480 B.C.
Athena standing on the left. Worshippers: man, woman, two boys (one holding phiale) and a girl; pig (pregnant sow).
Lit.: Schrader 1909, nr. 424, pl. 175; Dickins I (1912) 118; Payne & Young 1936, 48, pl. 126, 1; Brouskari 1974, 52; Berger 1970, 109, fig. 129; Kontoleon 1970, 16, pl. IV; Mitropoulou, *Corpus* I (1977) 26 nr. 21, fig. 39; Ridgway 1977, 309, fig. 66; Boardman 1978, fig. 258; Neumann 1979, 34, pl. 18 a; Ridgway, in: Boulter (ed.) 1985, 14, pl. 18; *LIMC* II Athena 587.

R59 Athens Akr 2413+2515+3003

From: Athens, Akropolis (?).
Middle part missing. Height: 54 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Athena standing on the right. Altar. Worshippers: head of one figure; one leg of servant (animal lost?); maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 39; Mangold 1993, 64 nr. 24, pl. 7, 1.

R60 Athens Akr 3007 **Fig. 80**

From: Athens, Akropolis?
Bottom left corner missing. Height: 54 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Athena standing on the right. Altar. Worshippers: eight men (probably + 1 who is lost); servant with kanoûn, pig.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 48; Mangold 1993, 64 nr. 25, pl. 7, 2.

Demeter and Kore

R61 Athens Akr 2497

From: Athens (?).
Top and right part missing. Height: 30 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Demeter (?) standing on the left. Altar. Worshippers: three men and arm of a fourth figure; servant leading pig.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 120.

R62 Athens Akr 2623+2548
From: Athens (?).
Left and middle fragment. Height: 40 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Demeter (?) standing on the left. Altar. Worshippers: woman; servant with kanoûn (animal lost?).
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 121.

R63 Whereabouts unknown
From: Athens.
Fragment. Height: 46 cm.
Date: ?
Demeter (largely lost) seated and Kore standing on the left. Altar. Worshippers: part of one figure remains; pig.
Lit.: Von Sybel 1881, nr. 1488.

R64 Eleusis 5066 **Fig. 84**
From: Eleusis.
Top right part missing. Height: 32 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Demeter seated on the ground on the right, traces of standing Kore. Worshippers: three men and a woman; maid carrying kíste; no animal.
Lit.: Kanta 1979, 60; Rubensohn, *AM* 24 (1899) 51, pl. VIII 1; Mylonas 1961, 200, fig. 72; Metzger 1965, 41/37; Nilsson 1967, 656, pl. 43, 3; Peschlow-Bindokat, *JdI* 87 (1972) 153 R 49.

R65 Eleusis **Fig. 83**
From: Eleusis.
Fragments broken all round. Height: ? cm.
Date: 4th cent B.C.
Of the gods on the right only one arm holding staff remains. Worshippers: two men; two taller men, each holding a piglet by one hind leg; traces of another figure.
Lit.: Kourouniotes, *ADelt* 8 (1923) 167, fig. 11; Mylonas 1961, 201; Peschlow-Bindokat, *JdI* 87 (1972) 154 R 60.

R66 (Formerly Brocklesby Park)
From: Eleusis.
Right part missing. Height: 42 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.

The gods are missing on the right. Worshippers: man, two women, two children; maid carrying kíste; (animal lost?).
Lit.: Michaelis 1882, 233 nr. 39; Reinach, *RR* II 439, 1.

R67 Paris Louvre 752 **Fig. 81**
From: Eleusis.
Height: 48 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Demeter and Kore (torches and ears of corn). Altar. Worshippers: man and woman; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Charbonneaux 1963, 120; *Enc. phot.* III (1938) 216 B; Peschlow-Bindokat, *JdI* 87 (1972) 156 R 67.

R68 Athens NM 1016 **Fig. 82**
From: Attika (?).
Height: 36 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Demeter seated and Kore (torches) standing on the left. Altar. Worshippers: woman, man and four children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 507, pl. 183; Metzger 1965, 38/24; Peschlow-Bindokat, *JdI* 87 (1972) 151 R 28; Güntner 1994, 149 D 6, pl. 27, 1.

R69 Naples MN 126174
From: Pompeii.
Height: 45 cm.
Date: c. 400 B.C.
Demeter (?) seated on the right. Low altar. Worshippers: three children, a man and two women; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Sogliano, *NSc* 1901, 401; Mylonas 1961, 200; Kraus & von Matt 1973, 193 nr. 266.

R70 Art market
From: ?
Right part missing. Height: 54 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Kore (?) standing on the left, holding torch. Altar. Worshippers: missing except part of servant with kanoûn (animal lost).
Lit.: MuM Basel 16 (1956) nr. 6; Frel 1969, 51 nr. 379.

Aphrodite (?)

R71 Paris Louvre 756 **Fig. 85**

From: ?
Height: 66 cm. Simple architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Aphrodite (?) standing on the right. Altar. Worshippers: two men and seven boys; young servant holds kanoûn filled with cakes, some of which he puts on the altar; goat.
Lit.: Charbonneaux 1963, 120; *Enc. phot.* III (1938) 216 A; Süsserott 1938, 120, pl. 24, 1; Simon, *AM* 69-70 (1954-55) 48, Beil. 25; Hausmann 1960, 69, fig. 36; Peschlow-Bindokat, *JdI* 87 (1972) 156 R 68.

Artemis, Hekate, etc.

R72 Athens Kerameikos (reused in sanctuary of Artemis-Hekate)

From: Athens (?)
Probably unfinished and reworked. Height: 120 (restored) cm.
Date: Hellenistic (?)
No god(s). Altar on the right. Worshippers: woman, man; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Brückner 1909, 54, fig. 21 and 28; Svoronos 384, pl. 122; Knigge 1988, 129 nr. 32.

R73 Brauron 1151 **Fig. 57**

From: Brauron, Artemis sanctuary.
Height: 58 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Artemis (bow, deer) standing on the right. Altar. Worshippers: four couples with one child each; servant with kanoûn, holding bov. by horn; maid carrying kíste.
Inscription on epistyle: Ἀρτέμιδι εὐξαμένη ἀνέθηκεν Ἀριστονίκη Ἀντιφάτους Θοραιέως γυνή.
Lit.: *Ergon* 1958, 35, fig. 37; Kontes, *ADelt* 22 (1967) 195, pl. 104 a; Kroll, *AJA* 83 (1979) 350, pl. 56, 1; Karuzu, in: *Stud. P.H. von Blanckenhagen* (1979) 111-116, pl. 33, 2; Neumann 1979, 63, pl. 40 b; Travlos 1988, 72 fig. 77; *LIMC* II Artemis 974.

R74 Brauron 1152 **Fig. 86**

From: Brauron, Artemis sanctuary.
Height: 59 cm. Architectural frame.

Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Artemis (torch) standing, Leto seated and Apollo standing on the right. Altar. Worshippers: man, two women and four children; servant holding bov.; maid carrying kíste.
Inscription on epistyle: Πεῖσις Λυ--οντος γυνὴ ἀνέθηκεν.
Lit.: Kontes, *ADelt* 22 (1967) 195, pl. 104 b; Travlos 1988, 72 fig. 78; *LIMC* II Apollo 957; *LIMC* II Artemis 1127.

R75 Brauron 1153 **Fig. 87**
From: Brauron, Artemis sanctuary.
Height: 65 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Artemis (deer) seated on the left. Worshippers: child, woman, three men, young man and two children; servant leading goat; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: *Ergon* 1958, 34 fig. 36; Kontes, *ADelt* 22 (1967) 195, pl. 105 a; Neumann 1979, pl. 38 b; Kahil, in: Moon (ed.) 1983, 242, fig. 15.17; Travlos 1988, 73 fig. 79; *LIMC* II Artemis 673.

R75^{bis} Lamia AE 1041 **Fig. 88**
From: Echinos.
Height: 68 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: c. 300 B.C.
Artemis (quiver, torch, attribute in left hand lost) standing on the right. Altar. Worshippers: woman holding child, woman holding little box (?); maid carrying tray on her head (loaded with apple, pomegranate, myrtle twig, pyramides, grapes) and holding askos in right hand; servant holding knife in right hand and grasping horn of bov. with left. Pair of shoes and clothes hanging on line under epistyle.
Lit.: Dakoronia & Gounaropoulou, *AM* 107 (1992) 217-227.

R76 Athens NM 1950
From: Aigina, Palaiochora.
Height: 46 cm.
Date: c. 400 B.C.
On the left altar (?) on high stepped base; in the background goddess holding two torches (Hekate or Artemis?). Worshippers: man pouring libation from phiale, man holding goose; boy leading fawn; woman between two children.
Lit.: Svoronos 633, pl. 135; Wide, *AEphem* 1901, 113-120, pl. 6;

Welter, *AA* 1938, 537-538; Mitropoulou, *Corpus* I (1977) 72 nr. 145, fig. 205; *LIMC* II Artemis 461.

R77 Delphi 1101+3815+8874

From: Delphi.
Middle part missing; left and right fragments may be from same relief. Height: 39.5 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Artemis (torch) standing on the left, another goddess seated, with a child kneeling beside her chair. Worshippers: man, woman and child; servant leading sheep; woman carrying líknon on her head. In upper register on smaller scale: three goddesses seated behind table, deity holding cornucopia, Apollo holding kithara, Hermes holding kerykeion.
Inscription on epistyle: Ἀρτέ[μιδι ---Κλ]ευμένης [ἀ]νέθ[ηκε .... ἐπι?]νίκιον.
Lit.: Zagdoun 1977, 32 ff. nrs. 8 and 9; Amandry, *BCH* Sup. 9 (1984) 398-401.

R78 Delos A 3153 **Fig. 89**

From: Delos, Sanctuary of Artemis Lochia.
Height: 30 cm.
Date: 4th/3rd cent. B.C.
Artemis (holding torch or staff) standing on the left. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and three children; servant leading goat.
Lit.: Demangel, *BCH* 46 (1922) 72, pl. 11; Plassart 1928, 293, fig. 247; Bruneau 1970, 191 nr. 1, pl. I 4; Pingiatoglou 1981, 113, pl. 17, 1.

R79 Delos A 3154

From: Delos, Sanctuary of Artemis Lochia.
Left and top right parts missing. Height: 30 cm.
Date: Hellenistic (?)
Artemis(? upper part lost) standing on the right. Altar. Worshippers: woman (Demangel: pregnant); servant leading goat.
Lit.: Demangel, *BCH* 46 (1922) 77 ff., fig. 11-12; Plassart 1928, 293 ff., fig. 248; Bruneau 1970, 191 nr. 2; Pingiatoglou 1981, 114.

R80 Delos A 3156

From: Delos, sanctuary of Artemis Lochia.
Middle fragment. Height: 14.5 cm.

Date: Hellenistic (?)
Preserves only altar and servant leading goat.
Lit.: Demangel, *BCH* 46 (1922) 81, fig. 14; Plassart 1928, 293. ff., fig. 253; Bruneau 1970, 192 nr. 4.

R81 Delos A 7724
From: Delos, Quartier de Skardhana, Maison des Sceaux.
Height: 37.5 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: Hellenistic
Artemis standing on the left (torch, dog). Altar (fire). Worshippers: two men; servant leading pig.
Lit.: Siebert, *BCH* 112 (1988) 763 ff., fig. 33 and 36.

R82 Brindisi
From: ?
Top left corner missing. Height: 63 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
On the right three different figures of Artemis (Bendis? Hekate?). Altar. Worshippers: man; servant leading animal (sheep, goat or deer?).
Lit.: Marzano 1961, 29, pl. 33; Neutsch, *RM* Erg. 11 (1967) 168; Mitropoulou, *Libation* (1975) 50 nr. 33.

Apollo

R83 Copenhagen NCG 2309 **Fig. 90**
From: ?
Middle fragment. Height: 52 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Apollo (largely lost) standing on the left, holding kithara. Altar. Worshippers: two men and hand of another adult, two children; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Poulsen 1951, nr. 232 a; *Billedtavler,* Till. I, pl. IV; *LIMC* II Apollon 956.

R84 Detroit Inst. of Arts 25.14 **Fig. 91**
From: Athens (?).
Right part missing. Height: 41 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Apollo seated on the left. Altar. Worshippers: arm of one adult, hand holding phiale of another (?); servant with kanoûn, sheep.

Inscription on epistyle: ἑβδομαϊσταὶ οἱ ἐπὶ [- - -].
Lit.: Voutiras, *AJA* 86 (1982) 229-233, pl. 30, 1-2.

R85 Sparta 689
From: Amyklai.
Stele crowned by tympanum. Surface much battered. Height: 176 cm.
Date: 3rd cent. B.C.
Upper register: Statue of Apollo on the left. Altar. Man and bov.
Lower register: Three dancers, lyre player and flute player (?)
Inscription under relief:

[- - - - -]
ἄρχου τῶι Ἀπέλλωνι καὶ τὼς στατὼς Α[ὐτ]οκλε[ί]-
δαν Αὐτόκλιος, Δαιοδάμαντα, Ἀντίμαχον Τάσκου.

Lit.: Tod & Wace 1906, 80 and 202, nr. 689; *LIMC* II Apollon 958.

Dionysos

R86 Athens NM 2400 **Fig. 92**
From: Koropi (Attika).
Top part missing. Height: 30 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Dionysos standing on the right. Altar. Worshippers: sixteen men (two holding wreaths) in two rows; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 640, pl. 147 (provenance incorrect); Milchhöfer, *AM* 12 (1887) 98 nr. 103; Reisch 1890, 124, fig. 12.

R87 Paris Louvre 754
From: Athens.
Height: 49 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Dionysos (?) standing on the right, holding thyrsos (? thus Charbonneaux; staff?). Altar. Worshippers: man, two women and three children; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Charbonneaux 1963, 120.

Poseidon (?)

R88 Melos
From: Melos (?).
Top, left and right parts missing. Height: 122 cm.
Date: Hellenistic (?)

God (Poseidon or Zeus?) standing on the right. Worshippers: lost except servant leading sheep.
Lit.: *Einzelaufnahmen* 737.

Herakles

R89 Athens EpM 8793
From: Athens, south slope of Akropolis.
Reworked body of marble loutrophoros (?) Surface worn. Height: ? cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Herakles standing on the left. Altar. Worshippers: four adults and two children; servant leading animal (pig or sheep).
Inscription above relief:
Λυσιστράτη ---
ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδ[ίων]
Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνέθηκε.
Lit.: Svoronos 667, pl. 218; Hausmann 1948, 180 nr. 164; Kearns 1989, pl. 1 B; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1387; *IG* II² 4613.

R90 Athens EpM 3942 **Fig. 93**
From: Athens, south of the Ilissos.
Height: 27 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Herakles standing on the right. Worshippers: man, woman and child; servant leading bov. (bull); maid carrying kíste.
Inscription on epistyle: Πάνις Αἰγίριος Ἡρ<α>κλεῖ.
Lit.: Robinson, *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 137 ff., pl. 34, 1; Billot, *BCH* 116 (1992) 137 fig. 4; *LIMC* IV Herakles 388.

R91 Piraeus 33
From: ?
Left part missing. Height: ? cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Herakles standing on the right. Altar. Worshippers: man; kanoûn held by servant leading sheep and pig, or by second servant who stands behind altar.
Lit.: *LIMC* IV Herakles 1390.

R92 Athens NM 1404 **Fig. 94**
From: Ithome (Messenia) (?).
Right part missing. Height: 55 cm. Architectural frame.

Date: Early fourth cent. B.C.
Herakles standing on the left in front of columnar shrine. Worshippers: man and traces of a second adult; bov. and sheep.
Lit.: Svoronos 353, pl. 60; Süsserott 1938, 104, pl. 14, 3; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1377.

R93 Rome Mus. Barracco 136
From: Athens.
Left part missing. Height: 48.5 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Herakles seated on steps of columnar shrine on the right. Youth (upper part lost) and bov. (sacrifice? perhaps Theseus and bull, see Fuchs).
Lit.: Helbig II ^{4}(1966) 652 nr. 1908 (Fuchs); *LIMC* IV Herakles 1380.

R94 Venice 100
From: ?
Reworked. Height: 57 cm.
Date: Late 5th cent. B.C.
Herakles standing on the right, in front of columnar shrine. Worshippers: youth, boy and man; bov.
Lit.: Traversari 1973, 30 nr. 9; Linfert, *AA* 1966, 496 ff.; Bol, *AA* 1971, 194 ff.; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1375.

R95 Eretria 631
From: ?
Bottom left corner missing. Height: 49 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Herakles seated on the left, in front of columnar shrine. Low altar (eschára). Worshippers: priest in long chiton holding knife; youth; bov.
Lit.: Mitropoulou, *Five contr.* (1976) 28 fig. 7 bis; Themelis, *Prakt* 1982, 173, pl. 107 b; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1379.

R96 Sofia **Fig. 95**
From: ?
Height: 35 cm.
Date: 3rd cent. B.C. (?)
Herakles reclining on couch on the right. Table and altar. Worshippers: three men; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.

Lit.: Bayet 1974, pl. I; Dentzer 1982, R 510, fig. 729; *LIMC* IV Herakles 1400.

Pankrates and Palaimon

R97 **Athens 1st Eph.** **Fig. 96**
From: Athens, sanctuary of Pankrates and Palaimon.
Height: 26 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Bearded god (cornucopia) seated on the right. Altar. Worshipper: two men, a woman and a child; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Inscription on epistyle: [-- Π]ανκράτηι εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκεν.
Lit.: Mitropoulou, *Snakes* (1977) 172, fig. 88.

R98 **Athens 1st Eph.** **Fig. 97**
From: Athens, sanctuary of Pankrates and Palaimon.
Top left corner damaged. Height: 17 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Bearded god (cornucopia) seated on the right. Table loaded with cakes and fruits (?). Worshippers: woman kneeling, man; maid carrying kíste (?).
Lit.: Mitropoulou, *Kneeling* (1975) 35 nr.10, fig. 11.

Nymphs

R99 **Museum Worsleyanum** **Fig. 98**
From: Attika.
Top right corner missing. Height: ? cm. Rough cave-like frame.
Date: 4th cent B.C.
Hermes, three Nymphs and Acheloos on the right. Pan in upper left corner. Rustic altar. Worshippers: three men and two women; servant leading sheep.
Inscription under relief: [---]ίππου Φλυεὺς ἀνέθηκεν.
Lit.: Michaelis 1882, 239 nr. 110; Reinach, *RR* II 438, 4; Feubel 1935, 34, nr. II 17; Peek, *AM* 67 (1942) 54 nr. 87; Hamdorf 1964, T 73 w; *LIMC* I Acheloos 174; Edwards 1985, 514 nr. 28; *IG* II^2 4886.

R100 **Athens NM 4466**
From: Attika, Pentelikon.
Height: 70 cm. Cave frame.
Date: Late 4th cent. B.C.

Three Nymphs, Hermes and Pan on the left. Rock altar. Worshippers: youth pouring from oinochoe into kantharos held by man.
Inscription on supporting pillar:

Ἀγαθήμερος
Νύνφαις
ἀνέθηκε.

Lit.: Hausmann 1960, 61 fig. 31; Fuchs, *AM* 77 (1962) 248 ff., Beil. 69, 2; Karouzou 1968, 92; Zorides, *AEphem* 1977, Chron. 4-11; Neumann 1979, pl. 31 b; Edwards 1985, 478 nr. 22; Güntner 1994, 120 A 18, pl. 4, 1.

R101 Athens Agora S 2905

From: Athens, Agora.
Fragment broken all round. Height: 28 cm.
Date: 4th cent B.C.
Nymphs or Charites (only part of one preserved) on the left. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman (mostly lost); pig.
Lit.: Edwards 1985, 638 nr. 59, pl. 27.

R102 Paros Quarry of Hagios Minas

From: in situ.
Much damaged. Height: ? cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Nymphs and several other gods in two registers on the left. Worshippers: approximately ten figures, among whom one kneeling woman; servant leading sheep (?)
Inscription under relief:

Ἀδάμας
Ὀδρύσης
Νύμφαις.

Lit.: Le Bas, mon. fig. 122; Fuchs, *AM* 71 (1956) Beil. 46; Muthmann, *AntK* 11 (1968) pl. 14, 5; Bodnar, *Archaeology* 26 (1973) 270-277; Muthmann 1975, pl. 18, 2; Berranger, *REA* 85 (1983) 235-259; *IG* XII 5, 245.

R103 Rhodes 4633

From: Rhodes.
Right part missing. Height: 69 cm.
Date: 2nd cent. B.C.
A low rock altar is approached from the left by a woman holding a tray (kanoûn?) and leading a goat, a second woman, and a badly damaged figure (Pan or satyr?). On the right only the foot of a

(dancing?) female figure remains (Nymphs?). In the field a small recessed relief panel depicting two female figures.
Lit.: Iacopich, *Clara Rhodos* 1 (1928) 27 fig. 9; Maiuri, *Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932) 47 nr. 19, fig. 3; Edwards 1985, 810 nr. 90.

Heroes: Hero as horseman

R104 Whereabouts unknown
From: Laconia.
Much battered. Height: 42 cm.
Date: ?
Hero standing beside his horse. Worshipper: one figure; bov. and sheep (?).
Lit.: Conze & Michaelis, *Annali d. Inst.* 1861, 37; Dressel & Milchhöfer, *AM* 2 (1877) 422 nr. 264.

R105 Malesina (Lokris)
From: Hyettos (Boiotia).
Height: 31 cm.
Date: ?
Hero on horseback on the right. Altar. Worshipper: man carrying pig.
Lit.: Körte, *AM* 3 (1878) 381 nr. 146; *AM* 4 (1879) pl. 17, 2; Etienne & Knoepfler, *BCH* Sup. 3 (1976) 140, fig. 77; *LIMC* VI Heros equitans 282.

R106 Thebes 62 **Fig. 102**
From: Thebes.
Left and right parts missing. Height: 58 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero standing beside horse, and heroine, performing libation on the left. Altar (omphalos-shape). Worshippers: man, two women, traces of another adult, two children; servant with kanoûn (?), leading pig.
Lit.: Körte, *AM* 3 (1878) 376 nr. 138; *AM* 4 (1879) pl. 16; Stengel 1920, pl. IV 20; Herrmann 1959, pl. 6, 2; Schild-Xenidou 1972, 67 nr. 77; Mitropoulou, *Libation* (1975) 19 nr. 8.

R107 Florina 104 (184)
From: North Epiros, near Koritsa.
Height: 36 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero standing beside horse, and heroine, performing libation on the

left. Altar. Worshippers: man and woman; maid carrying kíste; no animal.
Lit.: Mitropoulou, *Libation* (1975) 13 nr. 1.

R108 Rhodes
From: Aphantos (Rhodes).
Left part missing. Height: 32 cm.
Date: Hellenistic
Front part of a horse on the left. Altar. Worshippers: five men and five boys, in two rows; servant leading sheep.
Lit.: Mitropoulou, *Horses' heads* (1976) 70 nr. 82; Konstantinopoulos, *Rhodos Arch. Mus.* 42 nr. 45, fig. 57.

R109 Amorgos (?) **Fig. 101**
From: Amorgos.
Height: ? cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C. or Hellenistic (?)
Hero on horseback on the left, heroine standing at tree round which a snake is coiled; second snake at altar. Worshippers: man and woman; servant leading sheep.
Lit.: Pollak, *AM* 21 (1896) 195; Mitropoulou, *Snakes* (1977) 66, fig. 22; Schleiermacher, *Boreas* 4 (1981) 85.

R110 Thasos
From: Thasos.
Bottom right corner fragment. Height: ? cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Front part of horse on the left. Altar, and man putting something on it; no animal.
Lit.: Koukouli, *ADelt* 24 (1969) B' 352, pl. 358 b.

R111 Private coll. (Sir Charles Nicholson) **Fig. 100**
From: Pergamon.
Height: 41 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero standing beside horse, and heroine, performing libation on the left. Altar. Worshippers: a man two women, and three children; servant leading sheep.
Lit.: Le Bas, mon. fig. 139; Waldstein, *JHS* 7 (1886) 250, pl. C 2; Mitropoulou, *Libation* (1975) 20 nr. 10.

R112 Vienna AS I 1083
From: ?
Height: ? cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero on horseback, followed by attendant who holds the horse's tail, on the left. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and child; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep (? mostly lost).
Lit: —

Heroes: Hero seated

R113 Patrai **Fig. 99**
From: Patrai.
Height: 48 cm.
Date: Late 5th cent. B.C.
Hero seated and heroine standing on the right; horse's head and shield above. Worshippers: four men, three women and two children; sheep.
Lit.: Milchhöfer, *AM* 4 (1879) 125; Malten, *JdI* 29 (1914) 219 fig. 12; Svoronos 539 fig. 248; Möbius 1967, 36, pl. 10, 2; Hausmann 1948, 176 nr. 126.

R114 Olbia
From: Olbia.
Height: ? cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero seated on the left, snake beside chair; shield and cuirass above. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and three children, preceded by female kanephóros carrying a large kanoûn on her head, servant leading bov., and pipe-player.
Lit.: Ouvaroff 1855, 58, pl. 13; Blinkenberg 1917, 55 nr. 12; Richter, *AJA* 30 (1926) 425 fig. 4.

Heroes: Hero reclining at banquet

R115 Athens Akr 3013
From: Athens, Asklepieion (?).
Amphiglyphon. Left/right part missing. Height: 46 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
(A) Preserves only worshippers: little girl preceding man and woman and three older children.

(B) Part of kline and table on the right. Altar. Worshippers: woman, man and four children; servant with kanoûn leading sheep; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 312; Hausmann 1948, 182 nr. 186 and 181 nr. 178; Mitropoulou 1978, 16 nr. 4, fig. 9-10; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 72 nr. 19; Dentzer 1982, R 103, fig. 369-370.

R116 Athens Akr 2451
From: Athens, Asklepieion (?).
Amphiglyphon. Left/right part missing. Height: 31 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
(A) Slight traces of seated god on the left. Altar. Worshippers: man, two women and two children; servant leading sheep; maid (carrying kíste?).
(B) Part of kline and table, and one male worshipper.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 313; Hausmann 1948, 181 nr. 175; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) nr. 182; Dentzer 1982, R 99, fig. 365.

R117 Athens NM 2929
From: Athens, Asklepieion (?).
Middle fragment. Height: 30 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Legs of heroine on the right. Altar. Worshippers: man; servant with kanoûn (animal lost?).
Lit.: Svoronos 656, pl. 186; Hausmann 1948, 175 nr. 120.

R118 Athens Akr 4697
From: Athens.
Fragment. Height: 23 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine (mostly lost) on the right; table, krater. Worshippers: lost except servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 330; Dentzer 1982, R 107, fig. 374.

R119 Athens Agora S 539
From: Athens, Agora.
Bottom left corner fragment. Height: 18 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Worshippers: two adults and two children; servant leading pig.
Lit.: Dentzer 1982, R 121, fig. 385.

R120 Athens NM 2363
From: Athens, Akropolis (?).
Bottom right corner fragment. Height: 21 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table. Altar. (Worshippers lost).
Lit.: Svoronos 637, pl. 142; Dentzer 1982, R 156, fig. 422.

R121 Athens NM 2816
From: Athens.
Left part missing. Height: 24 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; krater. Altar. Worshippers: part of servant with kanoûn and pig preserved.
Lit.: Svoronos 653, pl. 177 (description inaccurate); Dentzer 1982, R 163, fig. 434.

R122 Athens NM 2850
From: Athens.
Middle fragment. Height: 25 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
On the right only part of oinochoos and krater remain. Altar. Worshippers: man (?) and two women; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Svoronos 653, pl. 177; Dentzer 1982, R 165, fig. 436.

R123 Athens NM 2912
From: Athens.
Right part missing. Height: 28 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; hose's head. Altar. Worshippers: three adults; pig (?).
Lit.: Svoronos 654, pl. 180; Dentzer 1982, R 177, fig. 440.

R124 Athens NM 2927
From: Athens.
Right part missing. Height: 30 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (mostly lost). Altar (?). Worshippers: a man, two women and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig; maid carrying kíste.

Lit.: Svoronos 655, pl. 186 (description inaccurate); Dentzer 1982, R 154, fig. 420.

R125 Athens NM 2942

From: Athens.
Fragment. Height: 31 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves only altar, part of one worshipper, and servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 657, pl. 189; Dentzer 1982, R 189, fig. 448.

R126 Athens NM 3873 **Fig. 103**

From: Athens, Odos Byronos.
Height: 33 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table; hose's head. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and three children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig; goose; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Walter, *AA* 1942, 100; Mitropoulou, *Horses' heads* (1976) 99 nr. 31; Dentzer 1982, R 195, fig. 453.

R127 Athens 1st Eph.

From: Athens.
Bottom right fragment. Height: 44 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos; snake at table. Altar. Worshippers lost except servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Mitropoulou, *Horses' heads* (1976) 94 nr. 13; Dentzer 1982, R 201 b.

R128 Athens 1st Eph.

From: Athens, Odos H. Theklas.
Right part missing. Height: 34.5 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (mostly missing). Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and three children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Alexandri, *ADelt* 22 (1967) B' 43, pl. 68 b; Dentzer 1982, R 201 a, fig. 459.

R129 Madrid
From: Athens (see Le Bas).
Middle fragment. Height: 37 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (partly lost); table. Altar. Worshippers: man; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Le Bas, mon. fig. 55, 2; *Einzelaufnahmen* 1735; Dentzer 1982, R 466, fig. 687.

R130 Athens NM 1516
From: Piraeus.
Height: 29 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; dog under table. Altar. Worshippers: man, two women and a child (?); servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 627, pl. 127; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 86 nr. 131; Dentzer 1982, R 394.

R131 Athens NM 1528
From: Piraeus.
Height: 19 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: man, two women and two children; servant leading pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 573, pl. 94; *AEphem* 1842, 517 nr. 853; Dentzer 1982, R 402.

R132 Whereabouts unknown
From: Piraeus.
Height: 39 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: man, two women and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Le Bas, mon. fig. 55, 1; Dentzer 1982, R 229.

R133 Tunis Bardo C 1200
From: Mahdia wreck (from Attika? Piraeus?).
Top part missing. Height: 30 cm. Architectural frame.

Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos; table. Worshippers: man and woman; servant with kanoûn (?), leading pig.
Lit.: Fuchs 1963, nr. 60, pl. 67; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 78 nr. 67; Dentzer 1982, R 344.

R134 Attika
From: Dagla near Markopoulo (Attika).
Right part missing. Height: 42 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (partly lost); table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: two men, a woman and three children; servant with kanoûn, pig.
Lit.: Lazarides, *ADelt* 16 (1960) B' 72, pl. 51 b; Dentzer 1982, R 233, fig. 486.

R135 Art market
From: Near Sounion (Attika).
Height: 40 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos; table. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Dentzer 1982, R 244, fig. 497.

R136 Rome Mus. Barracco 138
From: Attika.
Lower left part and top right corner missing. Height: 34 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table; horse's head. Worshippers: man, woman and child; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Helbig II ^{4}(1966) nr. 1903; Dentzer 1982, R 455, fig. 677.

R137 Athens NM 1532 **Fig. 106**
From: Megara.
Height: 40 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep and pig.

Lit.: Svoronos 561, pl. 90; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 86 nr. 130; Dentzer 1982, R 239, fig. 492.

R138 Paris Louvre 2417

From: Megara.
Height: 21 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman, youth, girl, child; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Charbonneaux 1963, 115; Dentzer 1982, R 240, fig. 493.

R139 Corinth 322+2344

From: Corinth.
Top right part missing. Height: 41 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: man, two women and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: *Corinth* IX (1931) 126 nr. 263; Broneer, *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 130 f. fig. 1; Lang 1977, 28; Dentzer 1982, R 246, fig. 499.

R140 Corinth S 2644

From: Corinth.
Top and left parts missing. Height: 22 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (partly lost); oinochoos and krater; table. Low rustic altar. Worshippers lost except part of servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Robinson, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 115, pl. 44 d; Dentzer 1982, R 255, fig. 508.

R141 Sikyon 345

From: Sikyon.
Height: 12 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table. Altar. Worshippers: man and woman; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Dentzer 1982, R 259, fig. 511.

R142 Argos (?)
From: Argos.
Height: ? cm. Architectural frame.
Date: ?
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table.
Worshippers: four women and a child (?); goat.
Lit.: Welcker 1850, 273 nr. 5; Pervanoglu 1872, 28 nr. 75.

R143 Copenhagen NCG 1594
From: Merbaka (Argolid; see Le Bas).
Height: 39 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: Late 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: man, three women and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Le Bas, mon. fig. 101, 2; Welcker 1850, 271, pl. XIII 24; Poulsen 1951, nr. 235; *Einzelaufnahmen* 4800; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 86 nr. 127, Beil. 12, 2; Dentzer 1982, R 268, fig. 520.

R144 Formerly private collection Athens
From: Peloponnesos.
Height: ? cm.
Date: ?
Hero and heroine. Worshippers: man, woman, maid and child; servant leading pig.
Inscription: [- - -]ιστος ἥρω[ι - - -].
Lit.: Milchhöfer, *AM* 4 (1879) 164 note 1; Dentzer 1982, R 272.

R145 Thebes 1613
From: Thespiai (Boiotia).
Height: 46 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos; snake at table. Altar (?). Worshippers: two men, two women and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Körte, *AM* 3 (1878) 383 nr. 149; Schild-Xenidou 1972, 59 nr. 68; Mitropoulou, *Horses' heads* (1976) 105 nr. 40; Dentzer 1982, R 97 b.

R146 Thebes
From: Thespiai (Boiotia).
Bottom left corner fragment. Height: 25 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (mostly lost). Worshippers: three adults and two children; servant leading pig.
Lit.: Schild-Xenidou 1972, 70 nr. 81; Dentzer 1982, R 98 b.

R147 Berlin 826 (K 990)
From: Boiotia.
Left part missing. Height: 26 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table; horse's head. Worshippers lost except servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Blümel 1966, 68 nr. 79, fig. 115; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 85 nr. 122; Dentzer 1982, R 97 a.

R148 Corfu 170
From: Corfu (?).
Height: 47 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: Late 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos; snake at table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: man, two women and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Dontas 1972, 61; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 86 nr. 129; Dentzer 1982, R 333, fig. 576.

R149 Istanbul 407 **Fig. 107**
From: Gallipoli.
Height: 41 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: Late 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; dog under table; snake drinking from phiale held by hero; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: man (putting something on the altar), two women and two children; servant leading sheep; behind the altar another attendant holding a kanoûn or a tray.
Lit.: Mendel III nr. 879; Pfuhl, *JdI* 50 (1935) 35 fig. 18; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 85 nr. 123; Dentzer 1982, R 77, fig. 341.

R150 Olbia **Fig. 108**

From: Olbia.
Height: 33.5 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 3rd cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; snake drinking from phiale held by hero. Altar with relief on the front depicting servant with kanoûn (?) leading sheep. Worshippers: five men.
Inscription under relief:

σιτωνήσαντες Θεοκλῆς Θρασυδάμα, Δημήτριος Φωκρίτου, Ἀθήναιος Κόνωνος, Ναύτιμος Ἡροξένου, γραμματεύοντος Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ Δημαγόρου τὸν τύπον Ἥρωι ἐπηκόωι.

Lit.: *Inscr. Olbiae* (1968) 67 nr. 72, pl. 37; Lifshitz, *ZPE* 4 (1969) 251-253; Robert, *BE* 1970, 417-418 nr. 408.

R151 Rostov

From: Tanais (Elisavetskoïe Gorodichtche).
Height: 35 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and child; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Kruglikova, *SovArch* 1962, 289; Lounine, *SovArch* 1964, 189-192, fig. 1; Dentzer 1982, R 72, fig. 338.

R152 Anapa

From: Gorgippia (Anapa, Kimmerian Bosporus).
Right part missing. Height: 36 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (partly missing); oinochoos and krater; table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and child; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Kruglikova, *SovArch* 1962, 282-289, fig. 2; *EAA* Sup. 159, fig. 167; Dentzer 1982, R 71, fig. 337.

R153 Delos A 412

From: Delos, near Maison du Dionysos.
Bottom left corner fragment. Height: 24 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (mostly lost). Worshippers: two adults and three children; servant leading sheep (ram).

Lit.: Marcadé, *BCH* Sup. 1 (1973) 362 fig. 39; Bruneau 1970, 641; Dentzer 1982, R 282 b.

R154 Delos A 3201

From: Delos.
Height: 35 cm.
Date: Late 4th cent. B.C.
Hero on the right; table; snake; tree on the left. Worshippers: man; servant leading sheep (ram).
Inscription under relief: [T]ιμοκράτης Ἀ[[.]]ν[ίωι].
Lit.: Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) nr. 20, Beil. 18, 2; Bruneau 1970, 422, 428, pl. V 2; Marcadé, *BCH* Sup. 1 (1973) 362 fig. 45; Dentzer 1982, R 277, fig. 528; *LIMC* I Anios 1; *Inscr. Délos* 2334.

R155 Delos A 3216

From: Delos (?).
Middle fragment. Height: 25 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (mostly lost); table. Worshippers lost except part of pig.
Lit.: Marcadé, *BCH* Sup. 1 (1973) 367 fig. 48; Dentzer 1982, R 279, fig. 530.

R156 Delos (part)

From: Delos.
Height: 32 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; krater; table; horse's head. Worshippers: man, two women, three children; servant leading sheep.
Lit.: Reinach, *RA* 1912, I, 278 ff., fig. 6: drawing of still nearly complete relief; Dentzer 1982, R 280.

R157 Mytilene 221

From: Mytilene (Lesbos).
Bottom left corner fragment. Height: 34 cm.
Date: Hellenistic (?)
Hero and heroine on the right (mostly lost); table; thymiaterion. Worshippers: man and woman; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Pfuhl & Möbius II (1979) nr. 1837, pl. 264; Dentzer 1982, R 422, fig. 644.

R158 Brussels MRAH A 1341

From: Melos.

Top left corner missing. Height: 22 cm. Architectural frame.

Date: 4th cent. B.C.

Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table. Altar. Worshippers: man, two women and two children; servant leading sheep.

Lit.: Cumont 1913, 93 nr. 73; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 87 nr. 133; Dentzer 1982, R 284, fig. 533.

R159 Oxford AM

From: Tenos.

Bottom left and right corners missing. Height: 23 cm.

Date: 4th/3rd cent. B.C.

Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake. Worshippers lost except head of servant leading animal (?).

Lit.: Michaelis 1882, 563 nr. 93; Mitropoulou, *Horses' heads* (1976) 116 nr. 57; Dentzer 1982, R 287, fig. 540.

R160 Istanbul 70

From: Kos (?).

Height: 33 cm. Architectural frame.

Date: Late 4th cent. B.C.

Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table; horse's head. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig; maid carrying kíste.

Lit.: Mendel III nr. 880; Pfuhl, *JdI* 50 (1935) 35 fig. 19; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 86 nr. 128, Beil. 15, 1; Dentzer 1982, R 295.

R161 Samos, Tigani 307

From: Samos.

Surface worn. Height: 56 cm.

Date: Hellenistic

Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos; table; shield, helmet and cuirass hanging above; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: man and woman, taking something from kanoûn held by servant, a child, and two female attendants (?); sheep.

Lit.: Horn, *Samos* XII (1972) 160 nr. 138, pl. 71; Pfuhl & Möbius II (1979) nr. 1834, pl. 263; Hausmann 1960, 26 fig. 12; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 85 nr. 121, Beil. 27, 2.

R162 Chalkis

From: Euboia (?).
Bottom left corner missing. Height: 37 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman, a third adult, and two (?) children; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Dentzer 1982, R 88, fig. 352.

R163 Berlin AC 919

From: Pergamon.
Lower left and middle parts missing. Height: 35 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; horse's head. Worshippers: only part of two adults and a child remain, and the servant leading the animal (species unclear).
Lit.: *Alt. Pergamon* VII 2, 257 nr. 322, Beibl. 35; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 85 nr. 125; Dentzer 1982, R 65, fig. 329.

R164 Leiden RMO Pb 158

From: "Smyrna".
Height: 46.5 cm.
Date: Hellenistic
Hero on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; snake in tree; horse's head. Worshippers: man holding phiale and young attendant holding oinochoe; servant leading pig (dorsuale).
Inscription above relief:

Ẓ[ην]όδοτος Ἀντιαλκίδου πρυτανεύων τὸ δεύτερον
καὶ οἱ παραπρυτάνεις ΤΗΙΑΔΗΙ.

Lit.: Bastet & Brunsting 1982, 121 nr. 220, pl. 60; Pfuhl & Möbius II (1979) nr. 152; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 94 nr. 171; Pleket 1958, 82 note 2: from Teos?

R165 Whereabouts unknown

From: Erythrai.
Height: 41 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C. (?)
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; three horse's heads. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman, girl and two small children; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep; maid carrying kíste.

Inscription on epistyle: Ἀπολλόδωρος Δελφινᾶδος Ἥρωι.
Lit.: Engelmann & Merkelbach 1973, nr. 349; Robert, *BE* 1974, p. 274 nr. 479.

R166 Saint Petersburg A 295
From: Tralleis.
Height: 39 cm.
Date: 4th/3rd cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; horse's head. Worshippers: man; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Pfuhl & Möbius II (1979) nr. 1836, pl. 263; Dentzer 1982, R 53 b, fig. 308.

Provenance unknown:

R167 Athens NM 1531
From: ?
Bottom left corner missing. Height: 23 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; thymiaterion; horse's head. Worshippers: man and woman; only one arm and kanoûn remain of servant leading animal (?).
Lit.: Svoronos 572, pl. 94; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 87 nr. 132; Dentzer 1982, R 400, fig. 630.

R168 Athens NM 1539
From: ?
Height: 23 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and child; servant with kanoûn, leading pig; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 570, pl. 93; Dentzer 1982, R 403, fig. 633.

R169 Athens NM 2398
From: ?
Bottom left corner fragment. Height: ? cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine (?) on the right are lost. Altar. Worshippers: man and woman; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 639, pl. 146.

R170 Athens NM mag. 122
From: ?
Middle fragment. Height: 24 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (mostly lost); table. Altar. Worshippers lost except servant with kanoûn (animal lost).
Lit.: Svoronos 680, pl. 253; Dentzer 1982, R 355, fig. 598.

R171 Athens NM mag. 124
From: ?
Left middle fragment. Height: 19 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (lost); krater. Worshippers: at least three adults and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 680, pl. 253; Dentzer 1982, R 357.

R172 Athens NM mag. 130
From: ?
Bottom left corner fragment. Height: 19 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (mostly lost). Altar (?). Worshippers: man, two women and a child; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 675, pl. 243 (description incorrect); Dentzer 1982, R 361.

R173 Athens Goulandris Mus. 164
From: ?
Top part missing; left fragment (formerly with this one in the coll. Palaiologos) now missing. Height: 26 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: man, youth in short chiton; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Mitropoulou, *Horses' heads* (1976) 92 nr. 10; *Exhibition of ancient art Goulandris coll.* (Athens, Benaki Mus., 1978) 277 nr. 151.

R174 Athens Kanellopoulos Mus. **Fig. 104**
From: ?
Right part missing. Height: 25.7 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.

Hero and heroine on the right (partly missing). Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig. On the left a large votive leg is depicted.
Lit.: Zagdoun, *BCH* 102 (1978) 304 nr. 14, fig. 18; Van Straten, in: Versnel (ed.) 1981, 119 nr. 9.1.

R175 Leiden RMO LKA 986
From: ?
Height: 31 cm.
Date: Hellenistic
Hero and heroine on the right; table; snake drinking from phiale held by hero. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and child; servant leading pig.
Lit.: Bastet & Brunsting 1982, 122 nr. 222, pl. 61; Pfuhl & Möbius II (1979) nr. 1840, pl. 264.

R176 London BM 713
From: ?
Height: 35 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: Late 4th cent. B.C.
Two heroes and a heroine on the right; oinochoos; snake at table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: man, three women and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Smith, *Cat.* I nr. 713; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 89 nr. 144; Dentzer 1982, R 490, fig. 711.

R177 London BM 714
From: ?
Right part missing. Height: 39 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (partly missing); table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: man, two women and three children; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Smith, *Cat.* I nr. 714; Dentzer 1982, R 489, fig. 710.

R178 London BM 1950.11-2.1
From: ?
Top and right parts missing. Height: c. 20 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (partly missing); table. Altar. Worshippers: two men, two women and two children; servant with

kanoûn, leading sheep (ram).
Lit: —

R179 London BM 1959.4-14.1
From: ?
Top and right parts missing. Height: 30 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (partly missing); table. Altar. Worshippers: two adults and a child (?); servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit: —

R180 London Science Mus. A 654566 (ex Wellcome Inst.)
From: "Greece".
Top part missing. Height: 41.5 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (partly missing); oinochoos and krater; table. Altar. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep; maid carrying kíste.
Lit: —

R181 Mantua Pal. Ducale
From: ?
Height: 48 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: Late 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: two men, two women and five children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: *StEtr* 8 (1934) pl. 37, 2; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 85 nr. 124; Dentzer 1982, R 451, fig. 673.

R182 Mariemont B 149 (G 49)
From: ?
Height: 42 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; snake; horse's head. Worshippers: two men, two women and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Lévêque & Donnay 1967, 104 nr. 52; *StEtr* 8 (1934) pl. 37, 1; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 86 nr. 126; Dentzer 1982, R 475, fig. 696.

R183 Newcastle-upon-Tyne (ex London Wellcome Inst. 7451/1936)
From: ?
Bottom right corner missing. Height: 33 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; krater; table. Worshippers: man, woman and two (?) children; servant leading small animal (only faint traces remain); maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Vermeule & von Bothmer, *AJA* 63 (1959) 333 nr. 3.

R184 Oxford AM
From: ?
Extreme right part missing. Height: 18 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; table; horse's head. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: Michaelis 1882, 576 nr. 144; Mitropoulou 1978, 56 fig. 36; Dentzer 1982, R 493, fig. 713.

R185 Paris Louvre MMC 1834
From: ?
Height: 31 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; servant with kanoûn (?), leading pig.
Lit.: Dentzer 1982, R 474, fig. 695.

R186 Verona MM
From: ?
Height: 29 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: three adults (at least one of whom is a woman) and two children; servant with kanoûn (?), leading sheep.
Lit.: Ritti 1981, nr. 21; Dütschke IV 238 nr. 541; Dentzer 1982, R 465, fig. 686.

R187 Private coll. (Coll. Polites)
From: ?
Height: 36 cm. Architectural frame.

Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; horse's head. Altar. Worshippers: nine men in two rows; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep.
Lit.: Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1989, 142 nr. 3, fig. 3.

R188 Private coll. (Bern) **Fig. 105**
From: ?
Right part missing. Height: 28.5 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: Late 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (partly lost); snake under table; horse's head. Worshippers: woman and three men; servant with kanoûn (which is covered with a cloth), leading sheep.
Inscription under relief: Τίμων ἥρωι [- - -].
Lit.: Kieffer, *HASBern* 7 (1981) 45-48, pl. 11.

R189 Private coll. (Wilton House, Wilts)
From: ?
Top right corner missing. Height: 36 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 3rd cent. B.C. (?)
Two heroes on the right; oinochoos and krater; table. Altar. Worshippers: three women; servant with kanoûn, leading sheep; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Michaelis 1882, 676 nr. 17.

R190 Whereabouts unknown (once Athens)
From: ?
Fragment. Height: ? cm.
Date: ?
Preserves only heroine, oinochoos and pig.
Lit.: Pervanoglu 1872, 17 nr. 14.

Heroes: Hero at banquet — kíste but no sacrificial animal

R191 Astro
From: Kynouria.
Height: 45 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; snake; horse's head. Worshippers: man, two women and three children; maid carrying kíste.

Lit.: Mitropoulou, *Horses' heads* (1976) 114 nr. 54; Dentzer 1982, R 271 b; Faklares 1990, 192-193, pl. 97 a.

R192 Athens NM 1511

From: ?
Surface worn. Height: 29 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table. Worshippers: two men, a woman and two children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 547, pl. 86; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 78 nr. 68; Dentzer 1982, R 391, fig. 622.

R193 Athens NM 1513

From: ?
Height: 29 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table. Worshippers: man, woman and child; maid carrying kíste.
Inscription on epistyle: Λυσίας Ἀπολλοδώρου χοραγῶν.
Lit.: Svoronos 550, pl. 87; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 82 nr. 101; Mitropoulou 1978, 56 fig. 37; Dentzer 1982, R 392, fig. 623.

R194 Athens NM 1528

From: ?
Height: 31 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos; table. Worshippers: man, woman and three children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 564, pl. 91; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 81 nr. 86; Dentzer 1982, R 398, fig. 628.

R195 Athens NM 1537

From: Athens.
Right part missing. Height: 23 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right are lost; oinochoos and krater. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 564, pl. 91; Dentzer 1982, R 153, fig. 419.

R196 Athens NM mag. 138
From: ?
Top and right part missing. Height: 36 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (mostly missing). Worshippers: man, two women and two children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Svoronos 674, pl. 249; Dentzer 1982, R 363, fig. 602.

R197 Athens NM
From: Attika (near Keratea).
Surface battered. Height: 40 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; horse's head. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: *BCH* 82 (1958) 672, fig. 10; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) nr. 112; Dentzer 1982, R 237, fig. 490.

R198 Athens Goulandris Mus. 162
From: ?
Height: 26 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table. Worshippers: man, woman and child; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: *Exhibition of ancient art Goulandris coll.* (Athens, Benaki Mus., 1978) 278 nr. 152.

R199 Berlin 817 (K 94)
From: Athens.
Bottom right corner missing. Height: 15.5 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; table. Worshippers: man and woman; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Blümel 1966, 82 nr. 97, fig. 131; Dentzer 1982, R 205, fig. 463.

R200 Berlin 825 (K 100)
From: Thebes.
Height: 31 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; horse's

head. Worshippers: man, woman and three children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Blümel 1966, 70 nr. 81, fig. 114; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 84 nr. 114; Dentzer 1982, R 95, fig. 360.

R201 Budapest 50960
From: ?
Height: 38 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; horse's head. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Dentzer 1982, R 426, fig. 648.

R202 Cassel SK 42
From: Athens (probably).
Height: 47 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; horse's head. Worshippers: two men, a woman and three children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Bieber 1915, 37 nr. 77, pl. 33; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 88 nr. 142; Dentzer 1982, R 441, fig. 663.

R203 Cassel (lost)
From: Athens.
Height: 33 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; snake at table. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Bieber 1915, 38 nr. 78, pl. 33; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 85 nr. 119; Dentzer 1982, R 440, fig. 662.

R204 Hildesheim Pelizaeus Mus. 2243
From: ?
Height: 37 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos; snake at table; horse's head. Worshippers: man, woman and child; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Ippel & Roeder 1921, 159; Dentzer 1982, R 439, fig. 661.

R205 Nauplion 1050

From: ?

Right part missing. Height: 36 cm. Architectural frame.

Date: 4th cent. B.C.

Hero and heroine on the right (partly lost); table. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; maid carrying kíste.

Lit.: Dentzer R 419, fig. 641.

R206 Nice Villa Guilloteau

From: Attika (?).

Height: ? cm. Architectural frame.

Date: 4th cent. B.C.

Hero and heroine on the right; table. Worshippers: man and woman; maid carrying kíste.

Inscription on epistyle and in field:

Ἡδύλος ἀν[έ]θηκ[ε]

Εὐκόλο[ι].

Lit.: Fränkel, *AZ* 32 (1874) 148 ff.; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) 81 nr. 92; Dentzer 1982, R 469, fig. 690; *IG* II² 4568.

R207 Paris Louvre 747

From: Piraeus (see Le Bas).

Height: 38 cm. Architectural frame.

Date: 4th cent. B.C.

Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; horse's head. Worshippers: man, two women and three children; maid carrying kíste.

Lit.: Le Bas, mon. fig. 54; Charbonneaux 1963, 120; Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* 80 (1965) nr. 113; Dentzer 1982, R 225, fig. 480.

R208 Paris Mus. Rodin 5

From: ?

Top and right parts missing. Height: 29 cm.

Date: 4th cent. B.C.

Hero and heroine on the right (mostly lost); oinochoos and krater. Worshippers: woman, man and two children; maid carrying kíste.

Lit.: Mitropoulou 1978, 48 nr. 2, fig. 33.

R209 Samos Vathy 222

From: Samos.

Bottom right corner missing. Height: 32 cm. Architectural frame.

Date: Late 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right; table. Worshippers: woman followed by three (?) children, in front of her small child sitting on the ground; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Horn, *Samos* XII (1972) nr. 106, pl. 68; Dentzer 1982, R 313, fig. 562.

R210 Sikyon 341
From: Sikyon.
Right part missing. Height: 30.5 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Hero and heroine on the right (partly lost); table. Worshippers: man, woman and two children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Philadelpheus, *ADelt* 10 (1926) Parart. 18 nr. 4, fig. 4; Dentzer 1982, R 257, fig. 509.

R211 Vienna I 903
From: Ephesos.
Bottom left corner missing. Height: 23 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C. (or Hellenistic?)
Hero and heroine on the right; oinochoos and krater; table; horse's head. Worshippers: man, woman, man, woman, two children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Oberleitner *et al.* 1978, 112 nr. 155, fig. 91; Dentzer 1982, R 432, fig. 654.

Unidentified deities
Mostly fragments not preserving enough of the gods to make them identifiable, and of which the sanctuary of provenance is unknown:

R212 Athens Akr 2498
From: Athens.
Lower middle fragment. Height: 22 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves only part of altar, one male worshipper, and servant leading sheep.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 193.

R213 Athens Akr 2546
From: Athens.
Bottom right corner fragment. Height: 35 cm.

Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves altar and worshippers: man, woman and three children; servant with kanoûn, sheep.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 198.

R214 Athens Akr 2499
From: Athens.
Lower middle fragment. Height: 29 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C. or Hellenistic
Preserves one male worshipper and servant leading sheep.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 228.

R215 Athens Akr 2538
From: Athens.
Bottom left corner fragment. Height: 13.5 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C. (?)
Preserves part of male worshipper and sheep.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 229.

R216 Athens Akr 2496
From: Athens.
Lower middle fragment. Height: 17 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C. or Hellenistic (?)
Preserves part of altar, snake, and three animals: pig, sheep and bov.
Lit.: Walter 1923, nr. 231.

R217 Athens NM 1436 **Fig. 60**
From: ?
Left part missing. Height: 57 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
God(s) on the left are lost. Altar. Worshippers: one man; servant with kanoûn (putting something on altar), sheep.
Lit.: Svoronos 439, pl. 71.

R218 Athens NM 2861
From: ?
Bottom right corner fragment. Height: 23 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves only altar and worshippers: man, woman and three children; servant leading sheep.
Lit.: Svoronos 653, pl. 177.

R219 Athens NM mag. 156
From: ?
Lower middle fragment. Height: 14 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C. (?)
Preserves only part of worshipper and animal (bov.?).
Lit.: Svoronos 677, pl. 249.

R220 Athens NM mag. 193
From: ?
Fragment. Height: 17 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C. (?)
Preserves only part of two male worshippers and pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 679, pl. 250.

R221 Athens NM mag.
From: ?
Fragment. Height: ? cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves three worshippers (man, woman, man) and servant leading pig (?).
Lit.: Svoronos 680 nr. 480, 3, pl. 253, 3.

R222 Athens NM Karapanos 953
From: ?
Lower middle fragment. Height: 22 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves part of two worshippers (man, woman) and servant leading pig.
Lit.: Svoronos 510, pl. 185.

R223 Athens NM Karapanos 957/57
From: ?
Bottom left corner fragment. Height: 16 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves part of worshippers: man, woman and two children; servant with kanoûn, leading pig; maid carrying kíste (?).
Lit.: Svoronos 509, pl. 184.

R224 Bucharest L 1348
From: ?
Lower middle fragment. Height: 9 cm.

Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves part of three worshippers and servant leading pig.
Lit.: Bordenache 1969, nr. 16, pl. 7.

R225 Chalkis 7 **Fig. 109**
From: Larymna.
Top part missing. Height: 56 cm.
Date: c. 400 B.C.
Man, holding sword or knife in his right hand, grips sheep (ram) between his knees, bending back its head.
Lit.: Rodenwaldt, *JdI* 28 (1913) 326-329, pl. 27.

R226 Corinth 419
From: Corinth.
Amphiglyphon. Lower fragment. Height: 28 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C. (?)
(A) Female figure seated on klismos, and snake. (B) Feet of two figures, and a pig (?).
Lit.: Johnson, *Corinth* IX (1931) 128 nr. 266.

R227 Corinth 450
From: Corinth.
Fragment. Height: 24 cm.
Date: ?
Preserves part of worshippers: man, woman and children; animal (unspecified).
Lit.: Johnson, *Corinth* IX (1931) 128 nr. 268.

R228 Derby
From: ?
Bottom right corner fragment. Height: 38 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves only part of two worshippers (one female) and maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Vermeule & von Bothmer, *AJA* 63 (1959) 150, pl. 38.

R229 Eleusis 5245
From: Eleusis (?).
Lower middle fragment. Height: ? cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.

Preserves only altar and servant leading goat in front of it.
Lit: —

R230 Eleusis
From: Eleusis (?).
Middle fragment. Height: 24 cm.
Date: 5th cent. B.C.
Preserves only part of altar, two worshippers and bov.
Lit.: Mitropoulou, *Corpus* I (1977) 29 nr. 25, fig. 43 bis.

R231 Eleusis
From: Eleusis (?).
Lower middle fragment. Height: ? cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves only altar, part of two worshippers, and servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit: —

R232 Larisa
From: Larisa.
Broken top and bottom. Height: 36 cm.
Date: 3rd cent. B.C.
Relief of a sheep. Inscription above it:
[- - -]κρατα Καλυδουνεία κὰτ τὸ ἐνύπ[νιον ὀνέθ]-
ει[κεν].
Lit.: Tziaphalias, *ADelt* 31 (1976) B' 1, 184, pl. 131 a. For the inscription cf. Van Straten, *BABesch* 51 (1976) 1-38.

R233 London BM 715
From: Athens (?).
Left fragment. Height: 42.5 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves only part of worshippers: man, woman and two children; maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Smith, *Cat.* I nr. 715.

R234 Oxford AM
From: ?
Left part missing. Height: 69 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
God(s) on the left are lost. Worshippers: woman, man, four women

and a girl; servant with kanoûn (animal lost); maid carrying kíste.
Lit.: Michaelis 1882, 561 nr. 88.

R235 Paris Louvre 761
From: Athens.
Lower middle fragment. Height: ? cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves only one female worshipper and servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit.: *Cat. somm.* nr. 761.

R236 Piraeus
From: ?
Fragment. Height: 29 cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves only part of one female worshipper and servant leading animal (mostly lost).
Lit.: Mitropoulou 1978, 36 nr. 1, fig. 25.

R237 Piraeus
From: ?
Lower middle fragment. Height: ? cm.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Preserves only part of altar, worshipper(s?), and servant with kanoûn, leading pig.
Lit: —

R238 Thebes B.E. 409
From: Thespiai.
Left part missing; surface battered. Height: 37 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Only part of one deity is preserved on the left. Altar; tree with snake coiled round it. Worshippers: two adults and one child; servant with kanoûn (?), leading sheep (?).
Lit.: *ADelt* 20 (1965) B' 243, pl. 291 b; *BCH* 92 (1968) 862 ff., fig. 11.

R239 Torcello Mus. Prov. 640
From: ?
Broken left and right. Height: 31 cm.

Date: 4th cent. B.C.
One goddess holding a staff (originally added in paint) is preserved on the left. Altar. Worshippers: woman putting something on the altar, woman carrying líknon on her head, man, woman (?) and child.
Lit.: Ghedini & Rosada 1982, 21 nr. 2.

R240 Whereabouts unknown (once Athens)
From: ?
Height: ? cm.
Date: "Late"
Tree with snake coiled round it on the right. Worshippers: man; servant leading sheep.
Lit.: Müller 1842, 98 nr. 105.

R241 Whereabouts unknown (once Athens)
From: Athens.
Right fragment. Height: 17 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: ?
Preserves part of one man and a goat.
Lit.: Von Sybel 1881, nr. 825.

R242 Whereabouts unknown (once Tegea)
From: Tegea.
Left fragment, much battered. Height: 87 cm.
Date: ?
Preserves part of worshippers: two adults and a child (?), and servant with kanoûn (?), leading sheep. Inscription under relief:

Νέων, Νεοκλῆς
--- ἀνέθεν (?).

Lit.: Bursian, *AZ* 1854, AA 478-479; Conze & Michaelis, *Annali d. Inst.* 33 (1861) 31; *IG* V 2, 106.

R243 Private coll. (Berlin)
From: ?
Bottom right corner fragment. Height: 39 cm. Architectural frame.
Date: 4th cent. B.C.
Worshippers: two women and a child; maid carrying kíste (servant with animal lost?).
Lit.: *Antiken aus Berliner Privatbesitz, Antikenmuseum Berlin* (1976) nr. 176.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	Haspels, C.H.E., *Attic black-figured lekythoi* (1936).
ABV	Beazley, J.D., *Attic black-figure vase-painters* (1956).
ARV²	Beazley, J.D., *Attic red-figure vase-painters* ²(1963).
BE	Robert, J. & L., *Bulletin Épigraphique* (1938-).
Beazley Add.	Carpenter, T.H., *Beazley Addenda. Additional references to ABV, ARV² & Paralipomena* (2nd ed. incorporating the 1st ed., 1989).
BMI	*The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* (1874-1916).
BrBr	Brunn, H., & F. Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur.*
Cité	*La cité des images. Religion et société en Grèce antique* (1984).
CVP	Amyx, D.A., *Corinthian vase-painting of the Archaic period* I-III (1988).
EAA	*Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica.*
Einzelaufnahmen	Arndt, P., W. Amelung, G. Lippold, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen* (1893-).
FR	Furtwängler, A., & K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (1904-1932).
Graef & Langlotz	Graef, B., & E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (1925-1933).
Helbig	Helbig, W., *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* I-IV ⁴(1963-72).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
LCS	Trendall, A.D., *The red-figured vases of Lucania Campania and Sicily* (1967).
Le Bas	Reinach, S., & Ph. Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure (1842-1844)* (1888).
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (1981-).
LS	Sokolowski, F., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (1969).
LSA	Sokolowski, F., *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (1955).
LSS	Sokolowski, F., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques - Supplément* (1962).
Mendel	Mendel, G., *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines. Constantinople, Musée Impérial* I-III (1912-1914).
Payne, *NC*	Payne, H.G.G., *Necrocorinthia* (1931).
Paralip	Beazley, J.D., *Paralipomena. Additions to Attic black-figure vase-painters and to Attic red-figure vase-painters (second edition)* (1971).
RE	*Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*

RR	Reinach, S., *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains* I-III (1909-1912).
RVAp	Trendall, A.D., & A. Cambitoglou, *The red-figured vases of Apulia* (1978-82).
RVP	Trendall, A.D., *The red-figured vases of Paestum* (1987).
Roscher, *ML*	Roscher, W.H., *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (1884-1937).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*
Svoronos	Svoronos, J.N., *Das Athener Nationalmuseum* (1908-1937).
UKV	Schefold, K., *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen* (1934).

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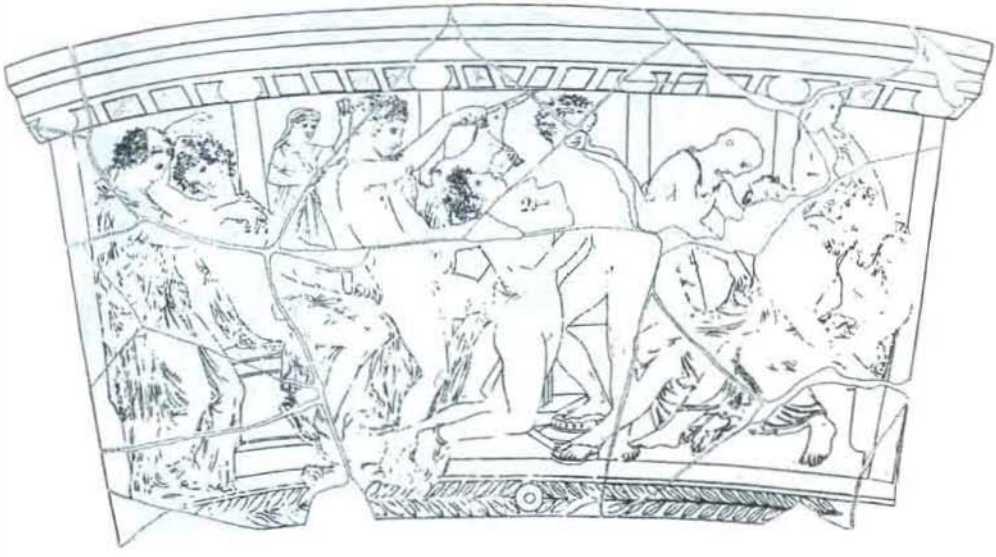
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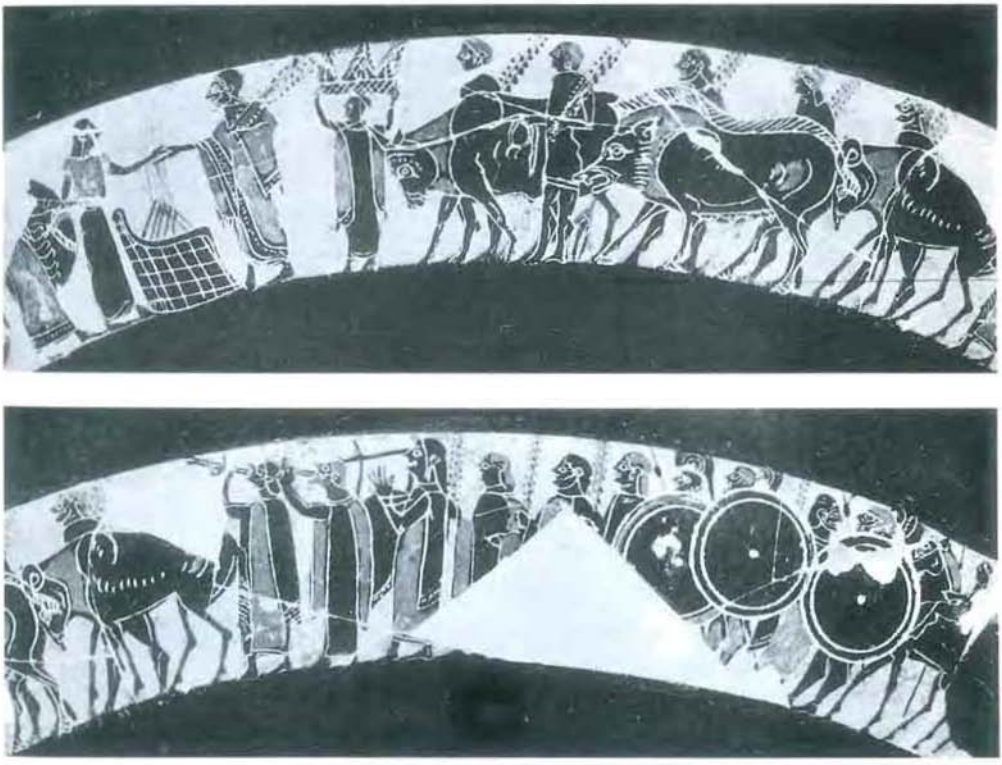
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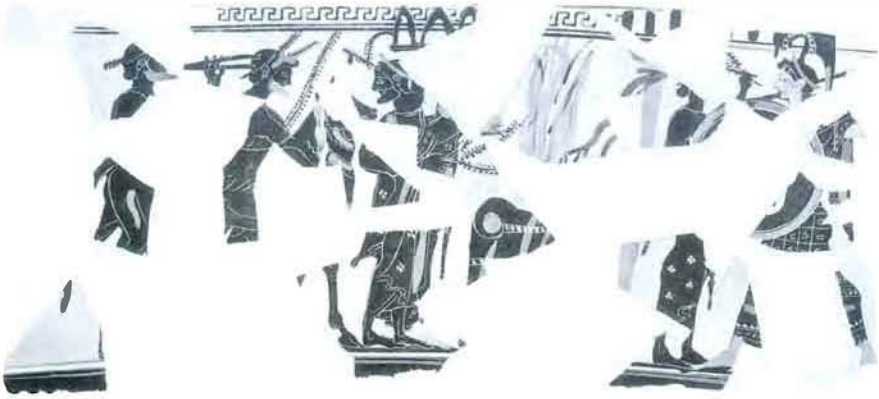
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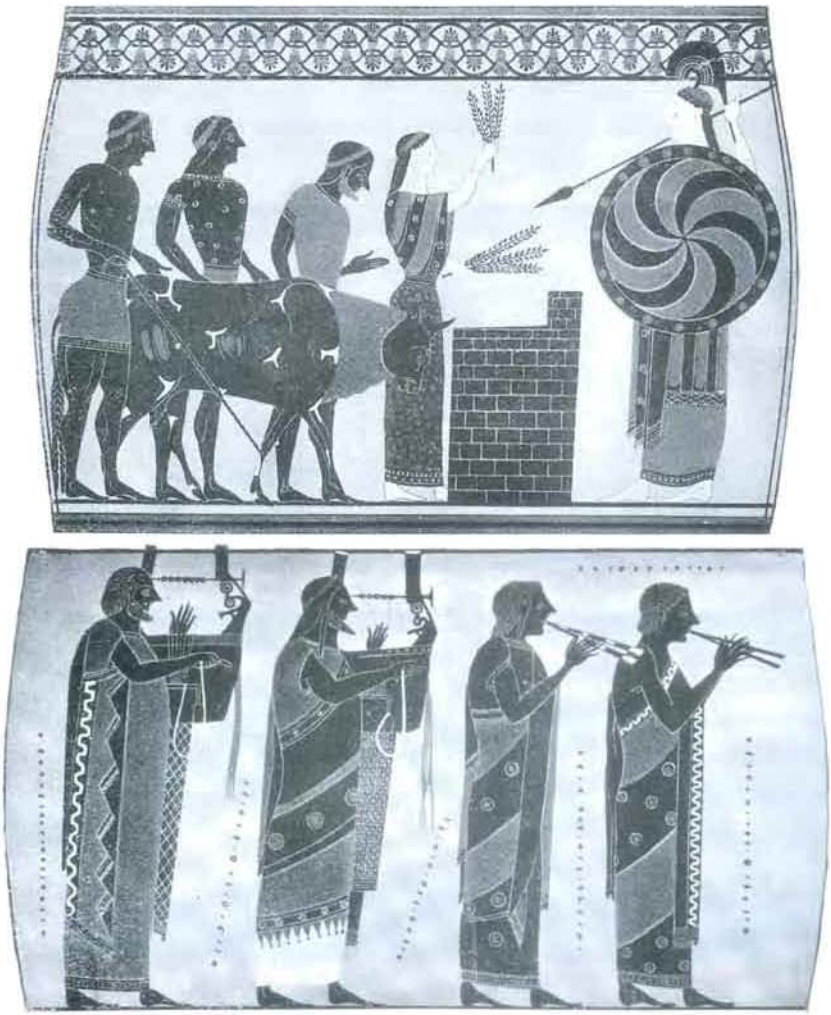
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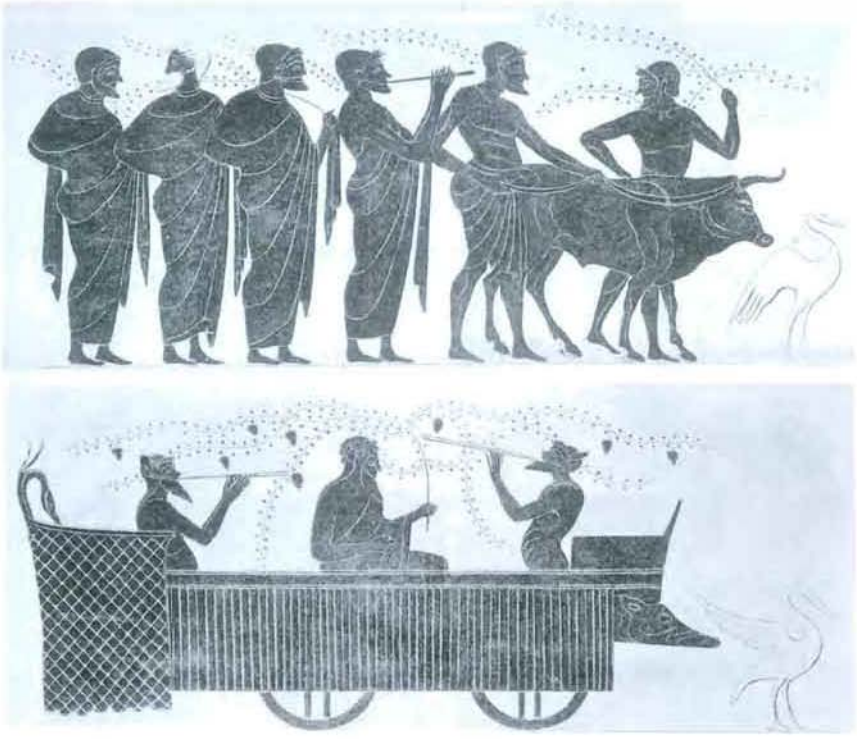
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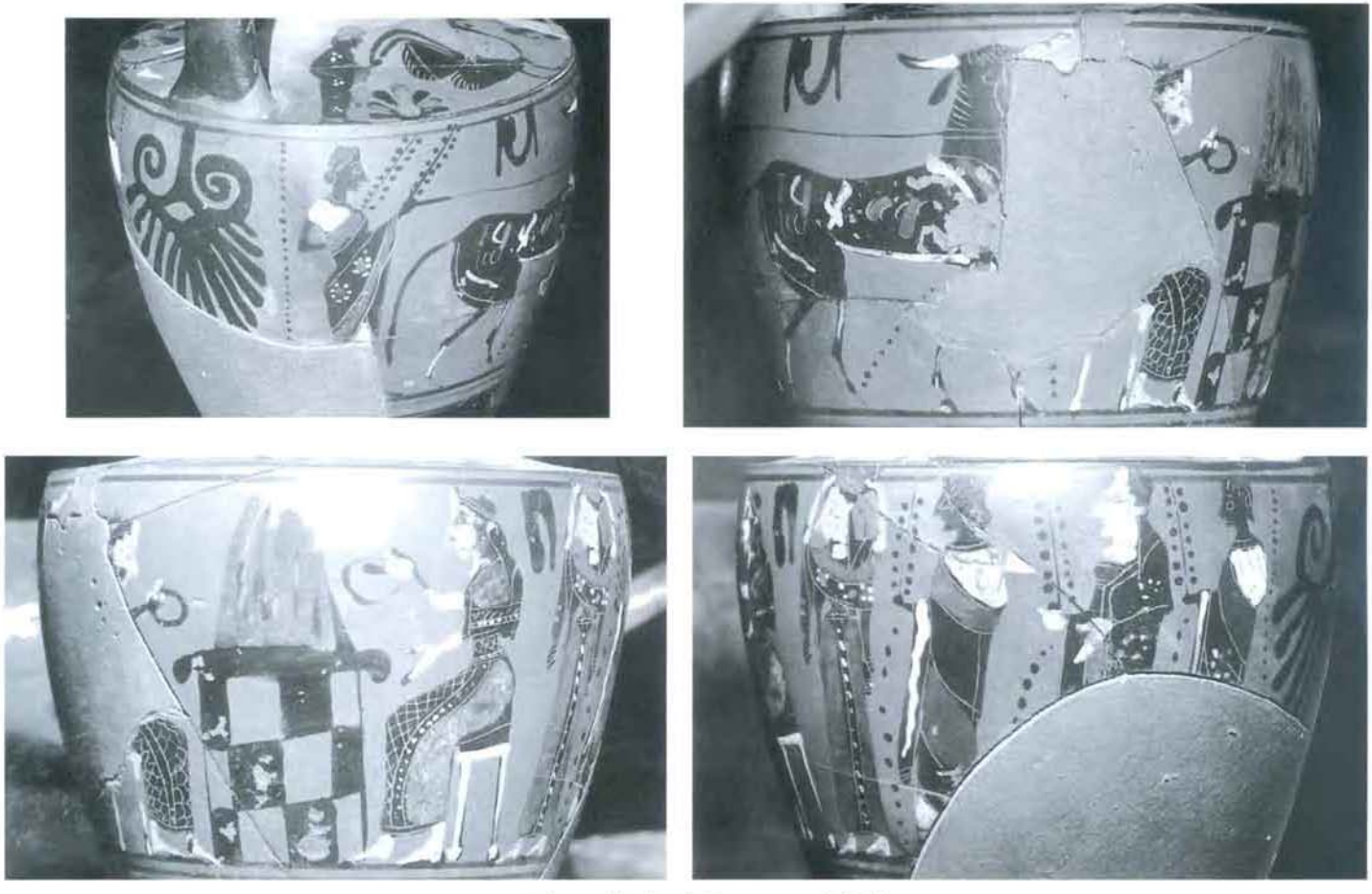
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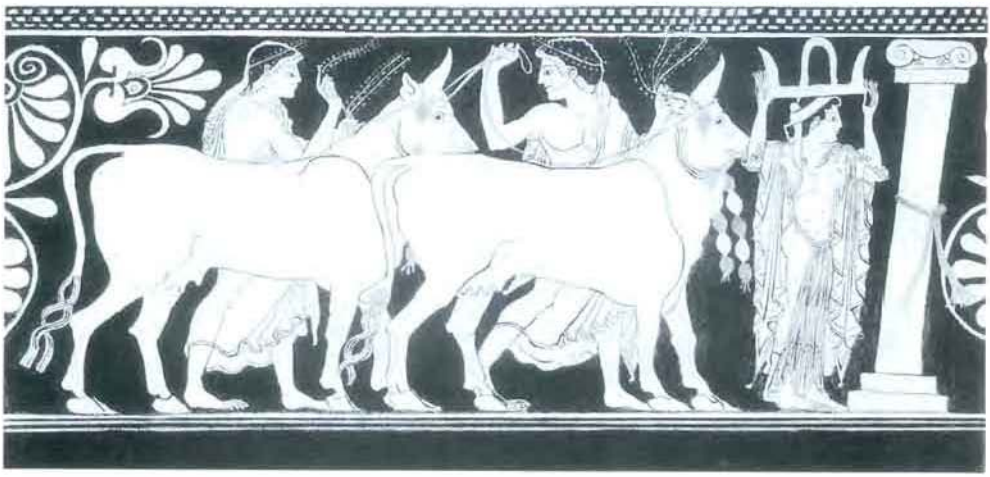
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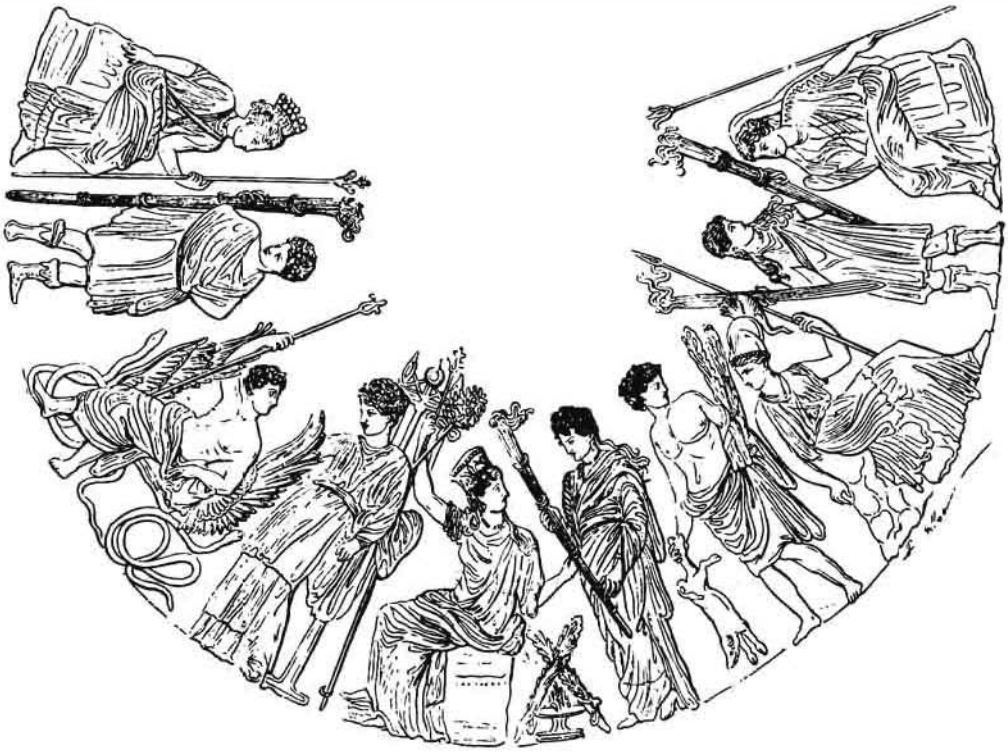
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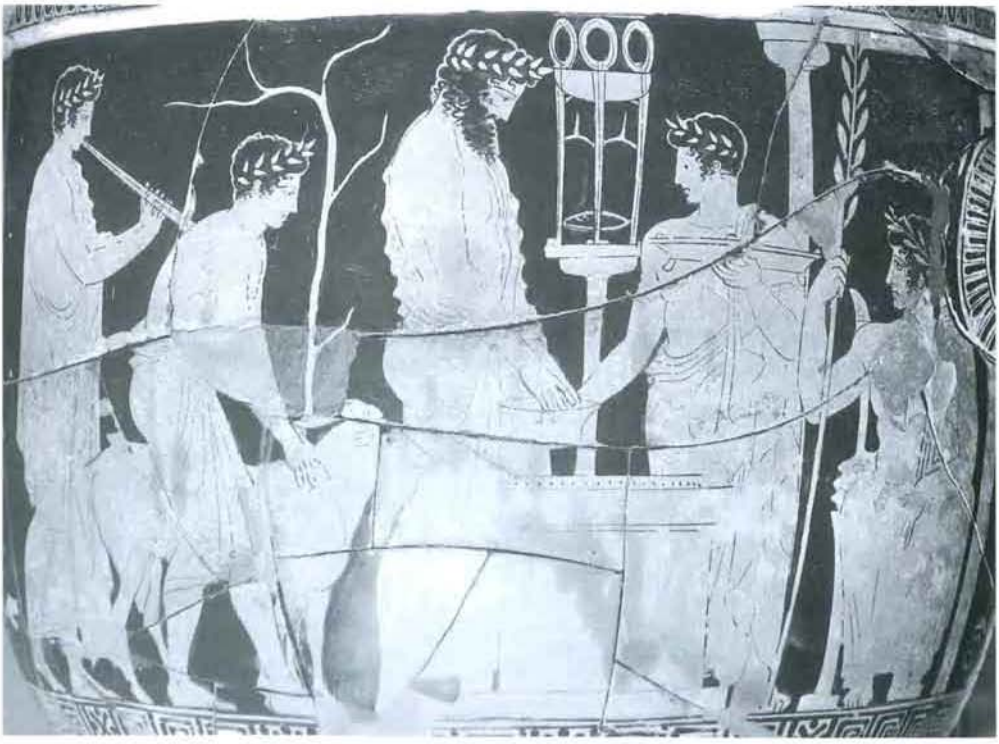
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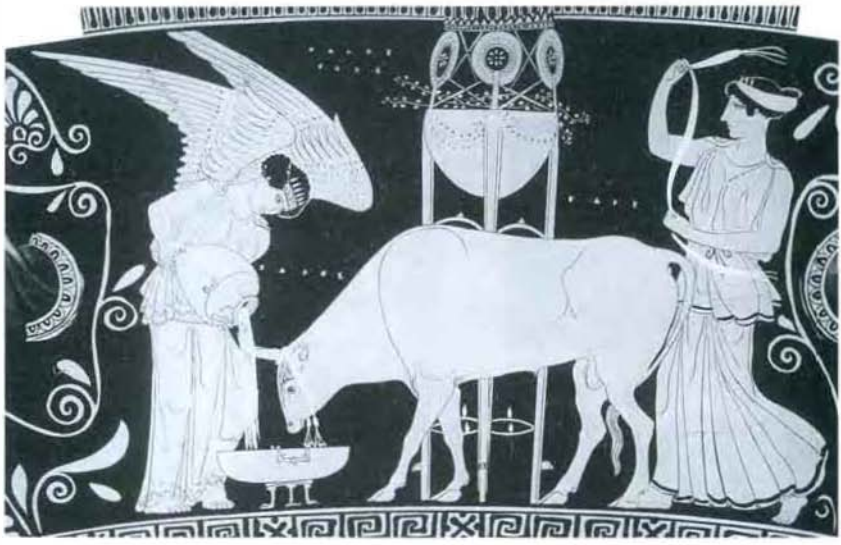
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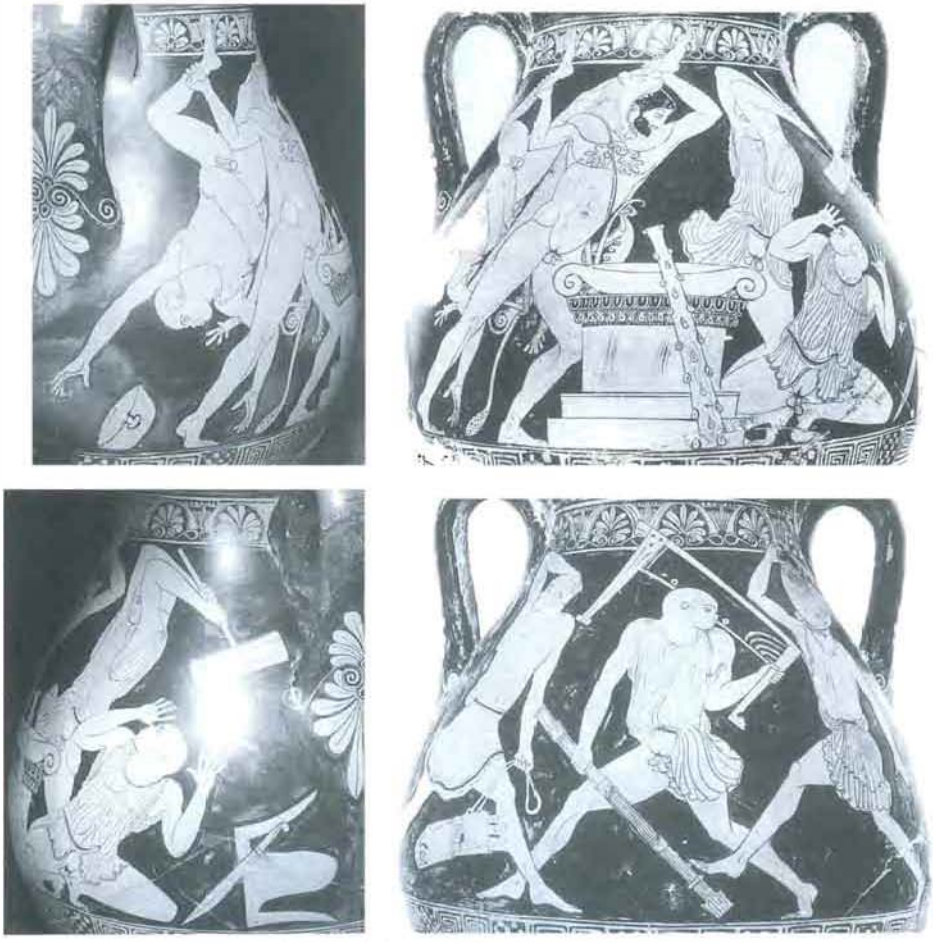
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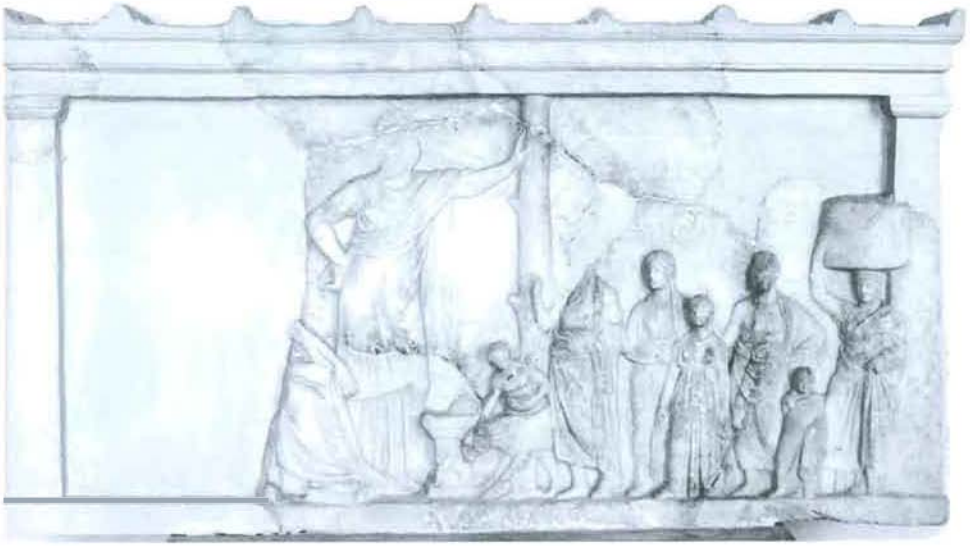
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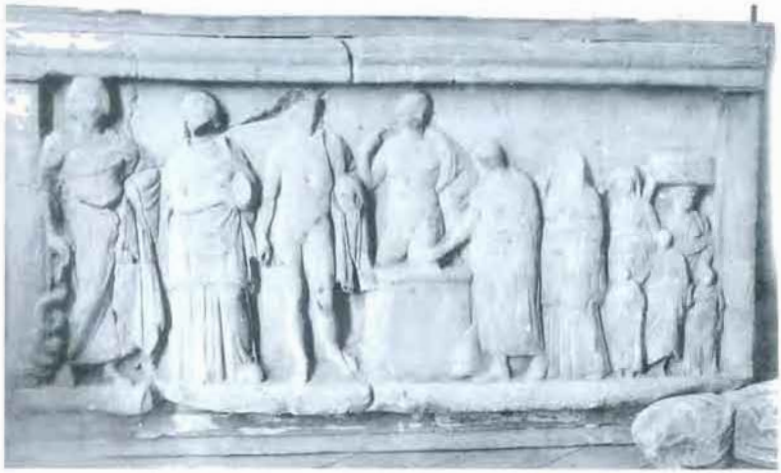
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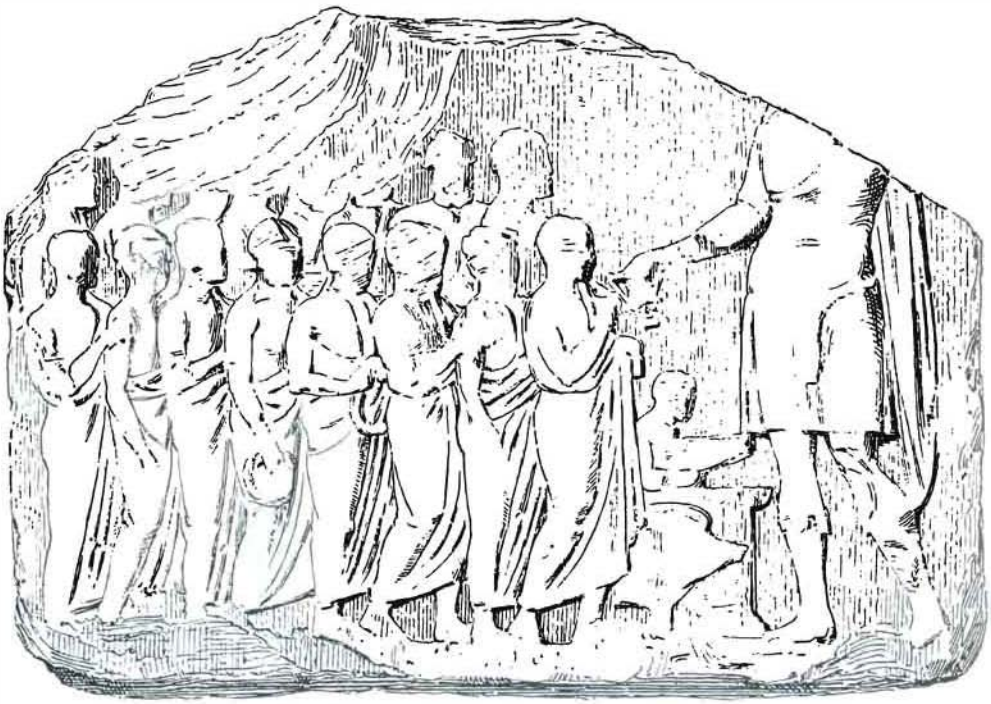
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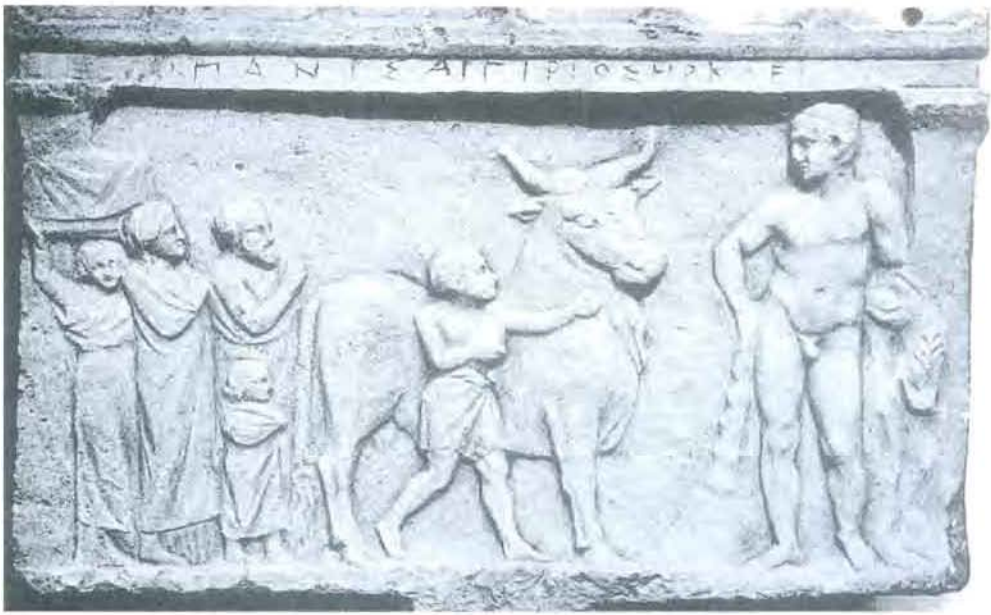
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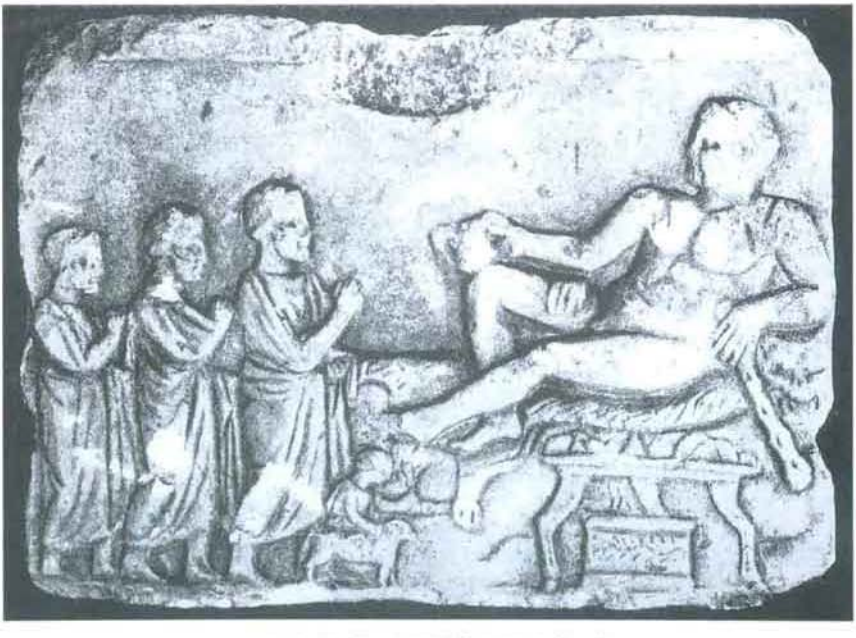
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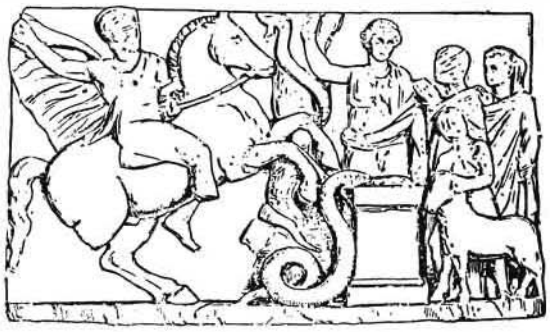
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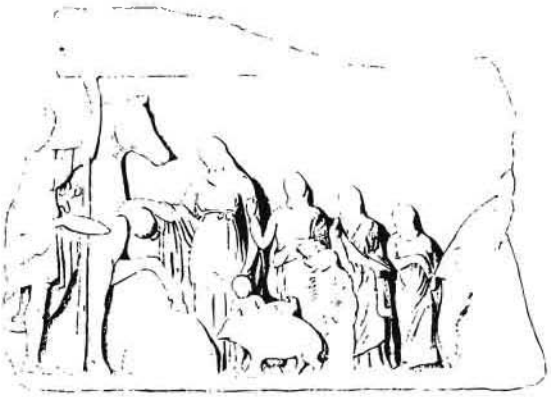
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111. Naples, Museo Nazionale 2411 [V149]



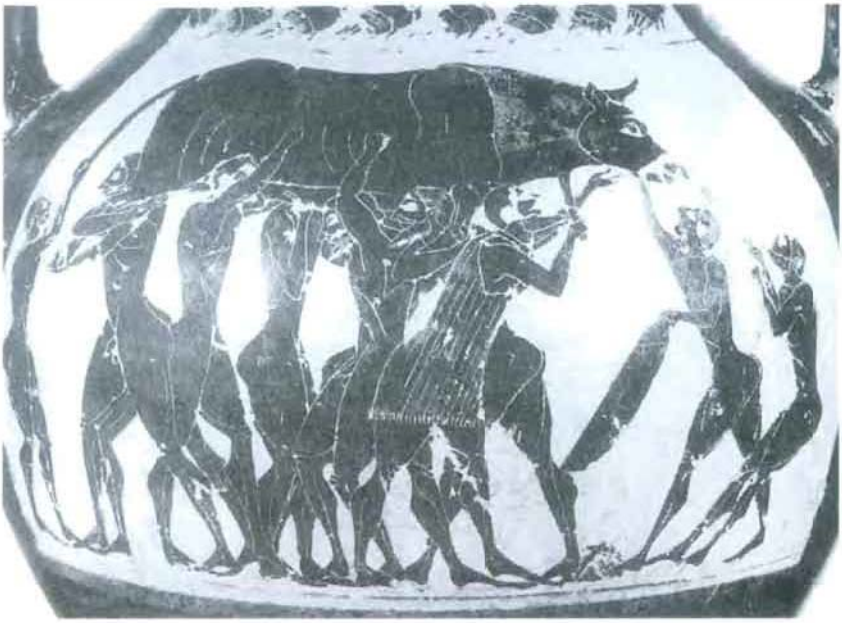
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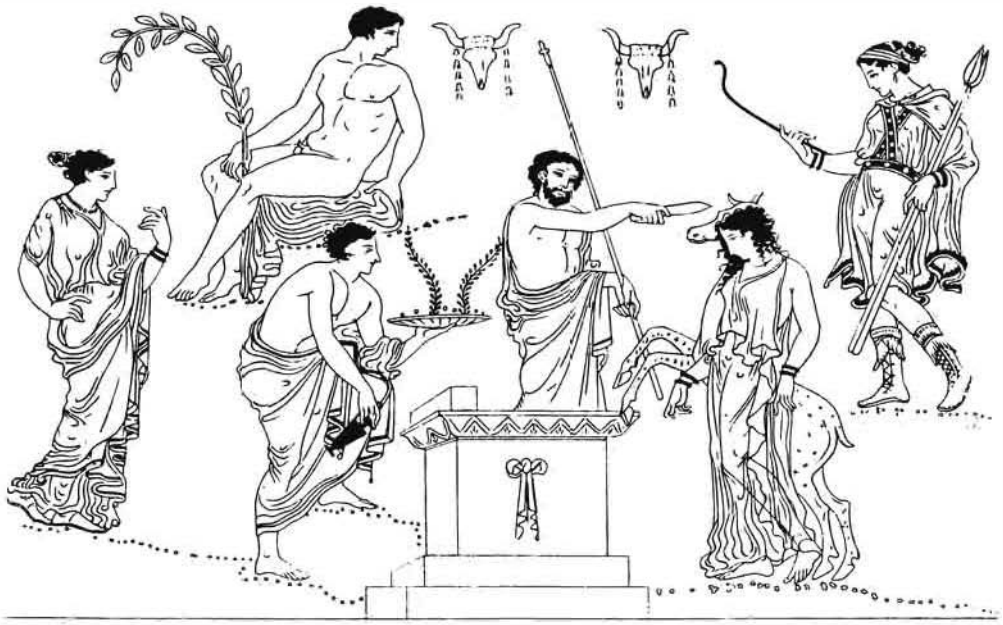
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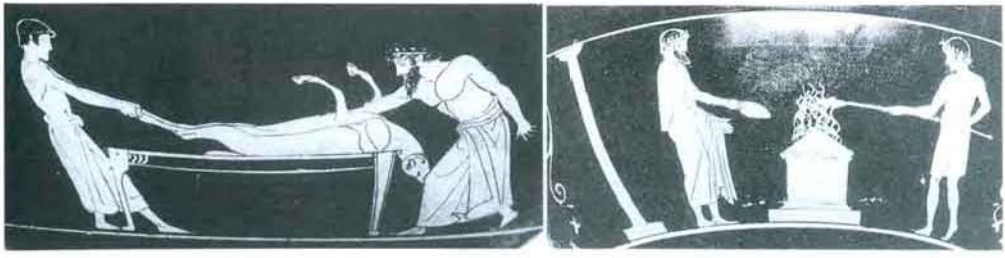
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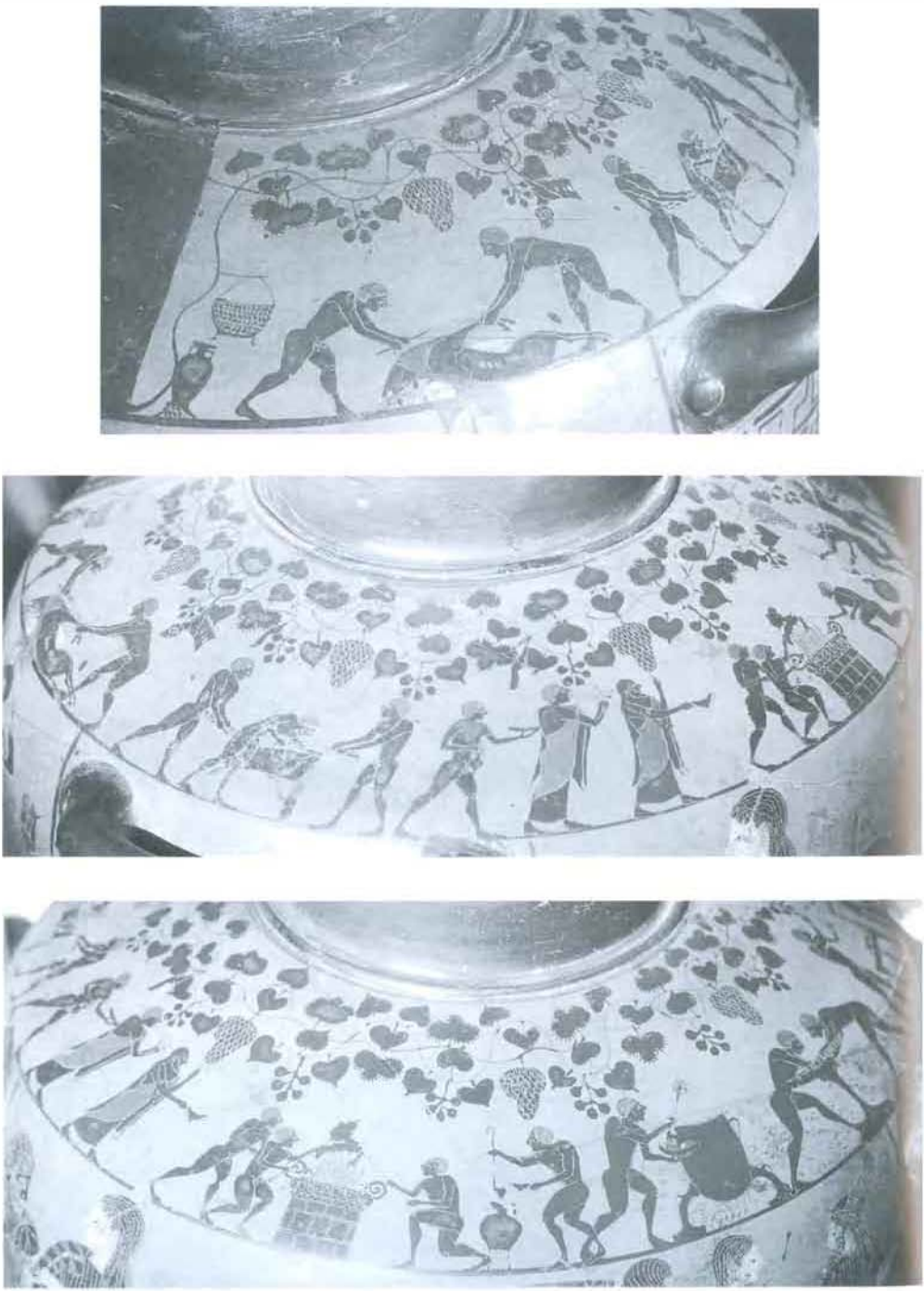
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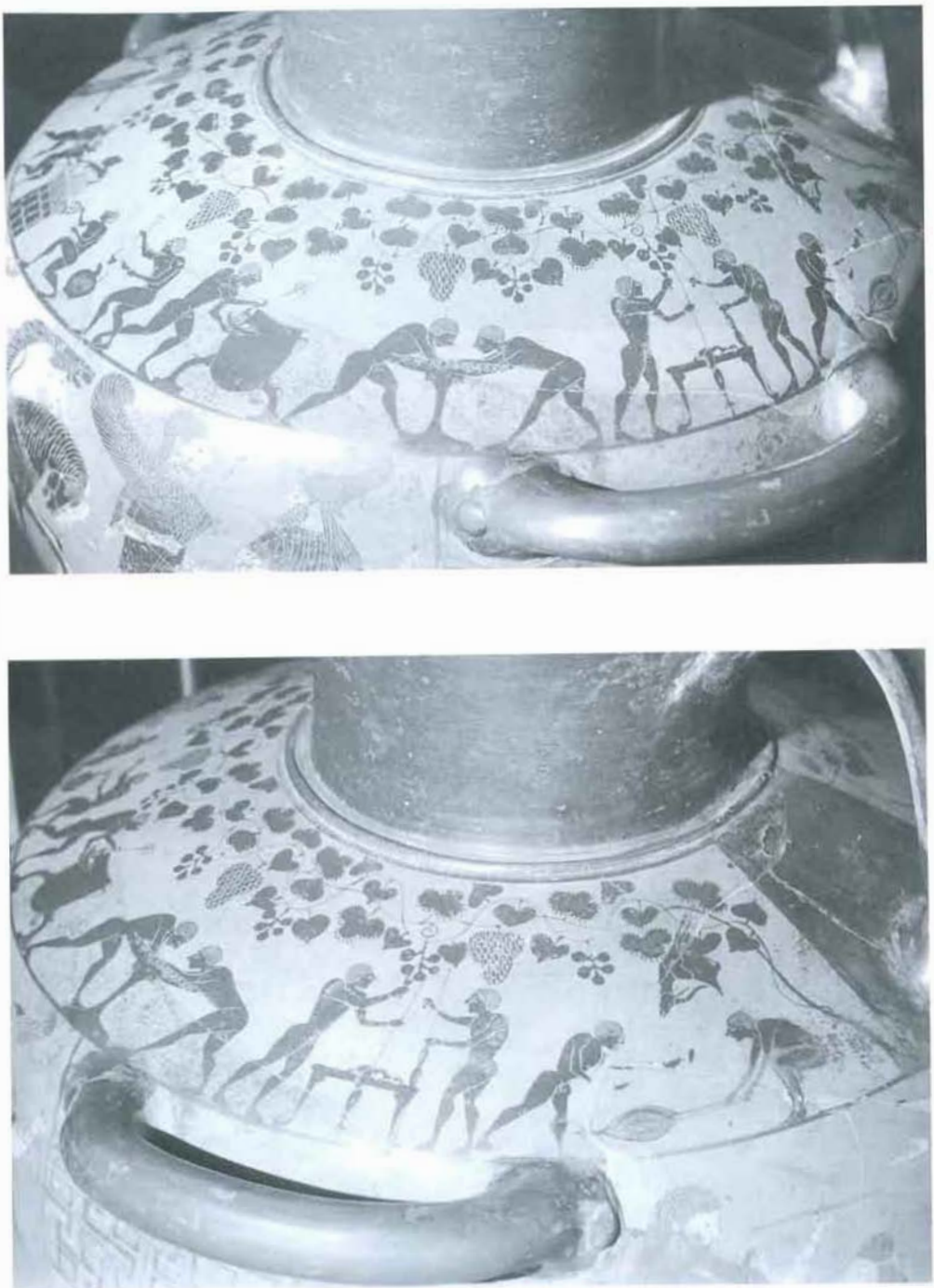
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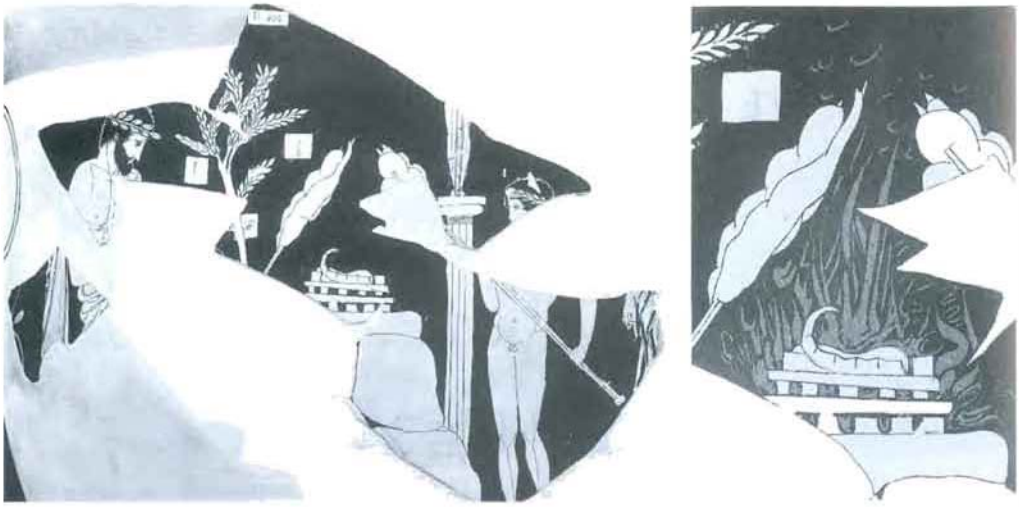
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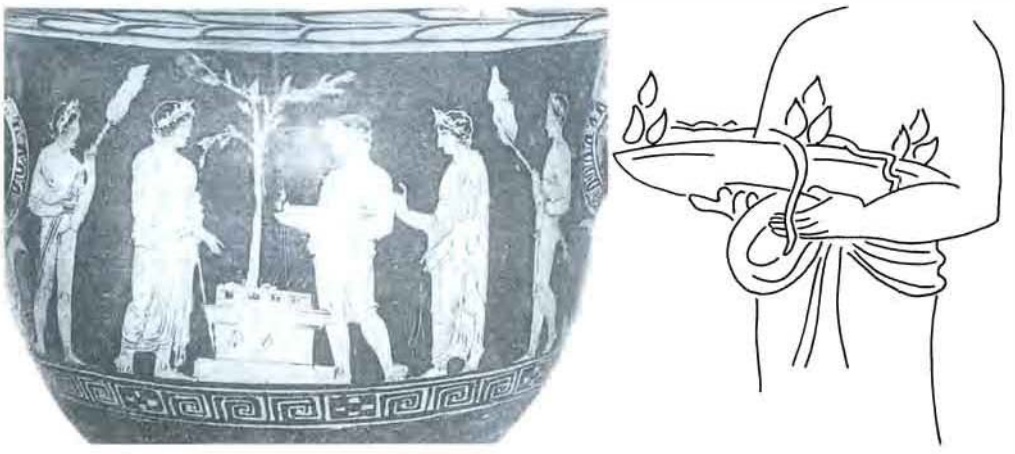
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123. London, British Museum B 362 [V160]



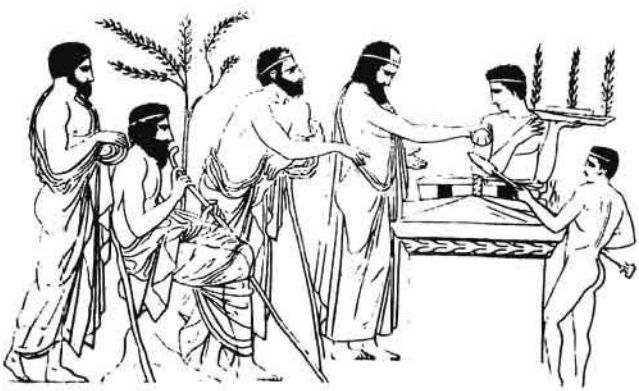
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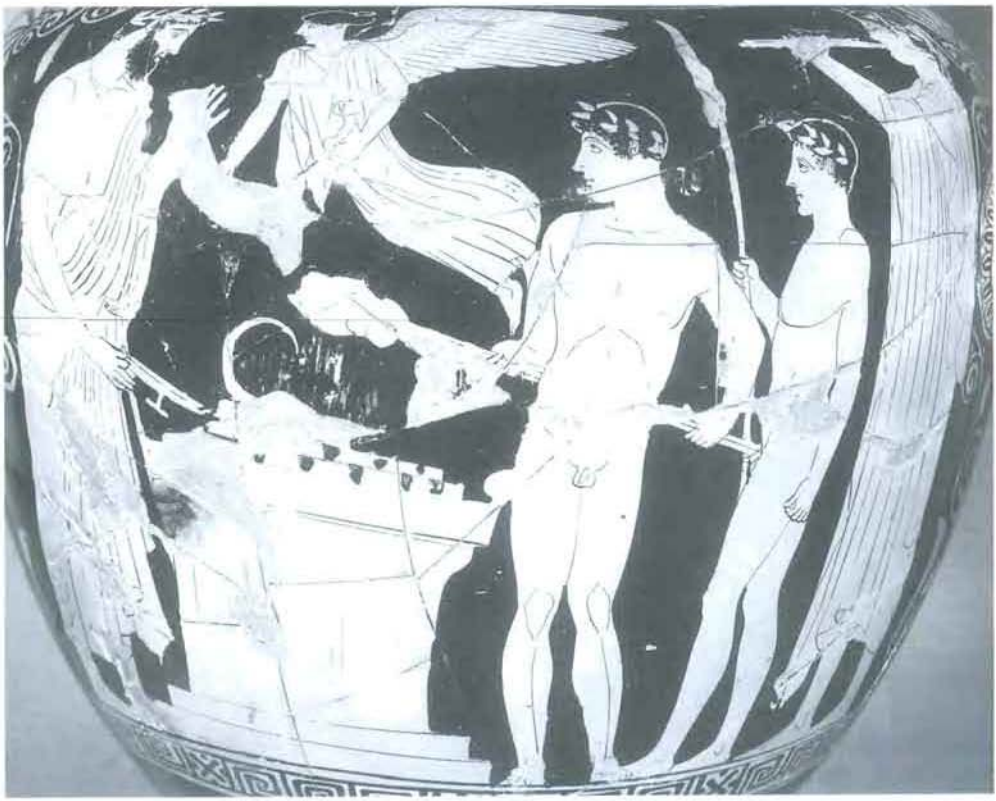
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128. London, British Museum E 65 [V402]



129. Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2591 [V400]



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131. London, British Museum E 456 [V186]



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133. Palermo, Museo Nazionale V 661 a [V198]



134. Berlin. Staatliche Museen inv. 3232 [V381]



135. New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.162.29 [V380]



136. Paris. Musée du Louvre G 402 [V199]



137. London. British Museum E 504 [V187]



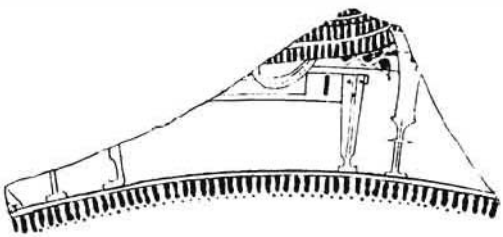
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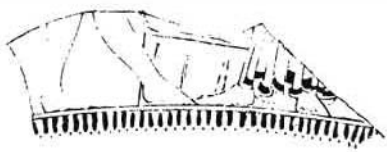


139. Catania, Istituto di Archeologia 9.418 [V171]

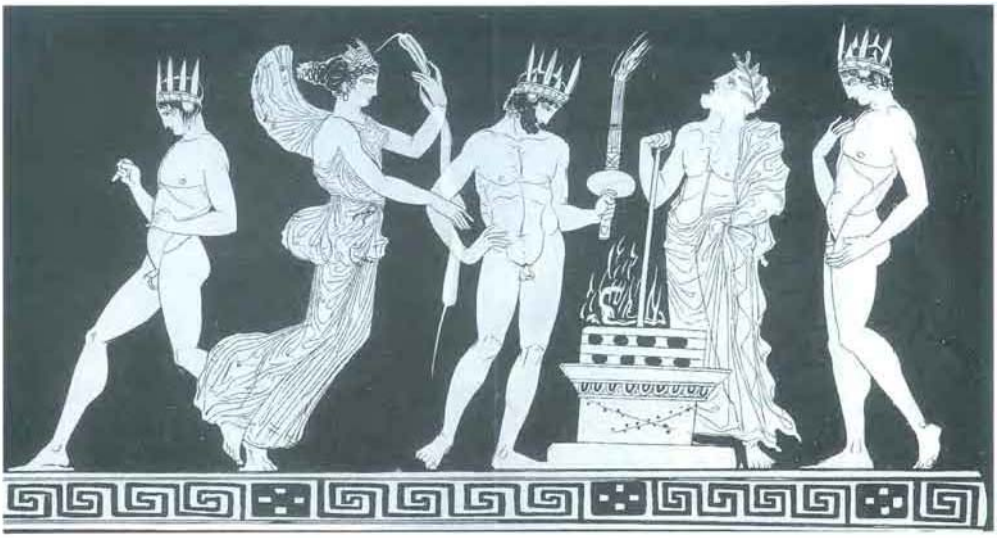


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141. Athens, National Museum [V162]



142. London, British Museum 98.7-16.6 [V188]



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144. Vatican 17924 [V206]



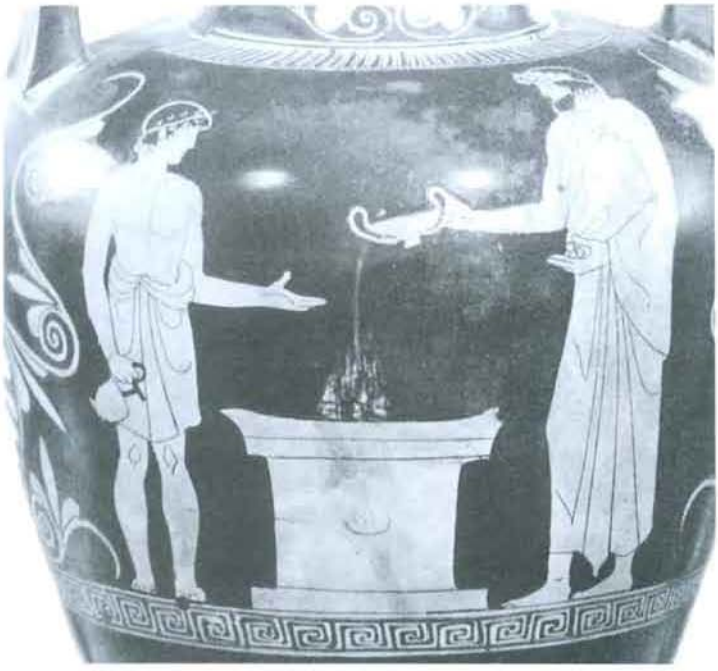




145. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1911.617 [V195]



146. Darmstadt. Hessisches Landesmuseum A 1969:4 [V173]



147. New York. Brooklyn Museum 59.34 [V303]



148. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1931.9 [V196]



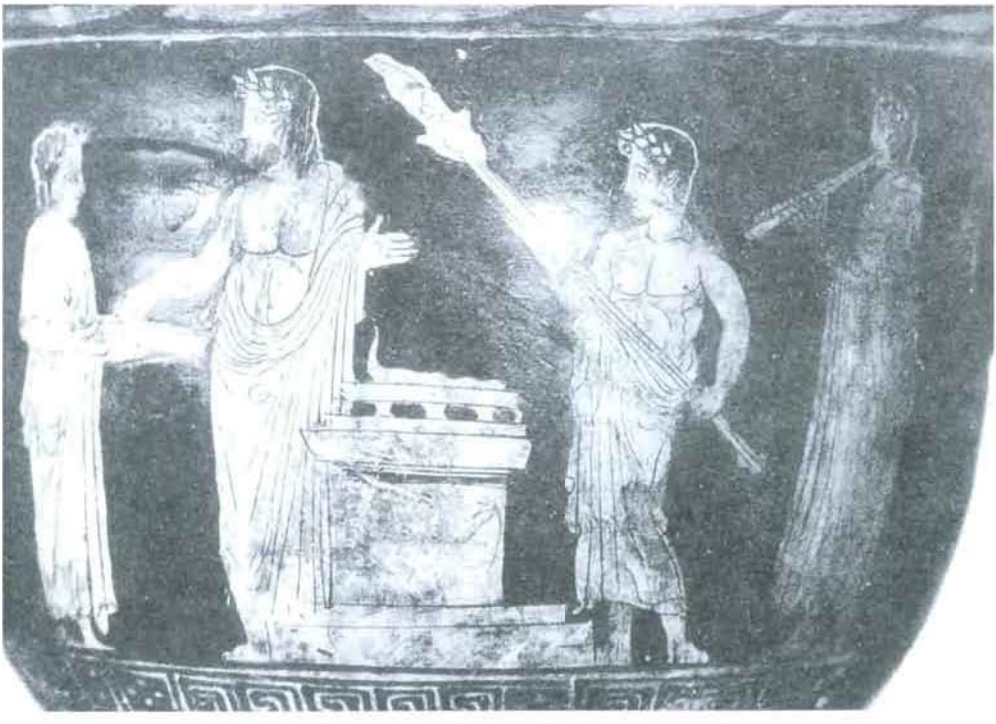
148. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1931.9 [V196]



149. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1954.255 [V306]



150. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 536 [V193]



151. Nancy, Institut d'Archéologie [V189]



152. Paris, Musée du Louvre G 496 [V200]



153. Athens, National Museum 595 [V158]



154. Athens, National Museum Akr 654 [V212]



155. Erlangen, Kunstsammlung der Universität I 486 [V222]



156. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2347 [V239]



157. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.527 [V213]







158. Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 120 [V238]



159. Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale 26 (715) [V215]



160. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.184 [V220]



161. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2674 [V231]



162. London, British Museum E 62 [V228]



163. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8109 [V219]



164. Durham, Duke University Museum of Art 1972.1 [V175]



165. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum 507 [V262]



166. Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet 3241 [V247]



167. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 464.39 [V242]



168. Kiel, Antikensammlung Kunsthalle B 55 [V382]